

LIFE AND SERVICES

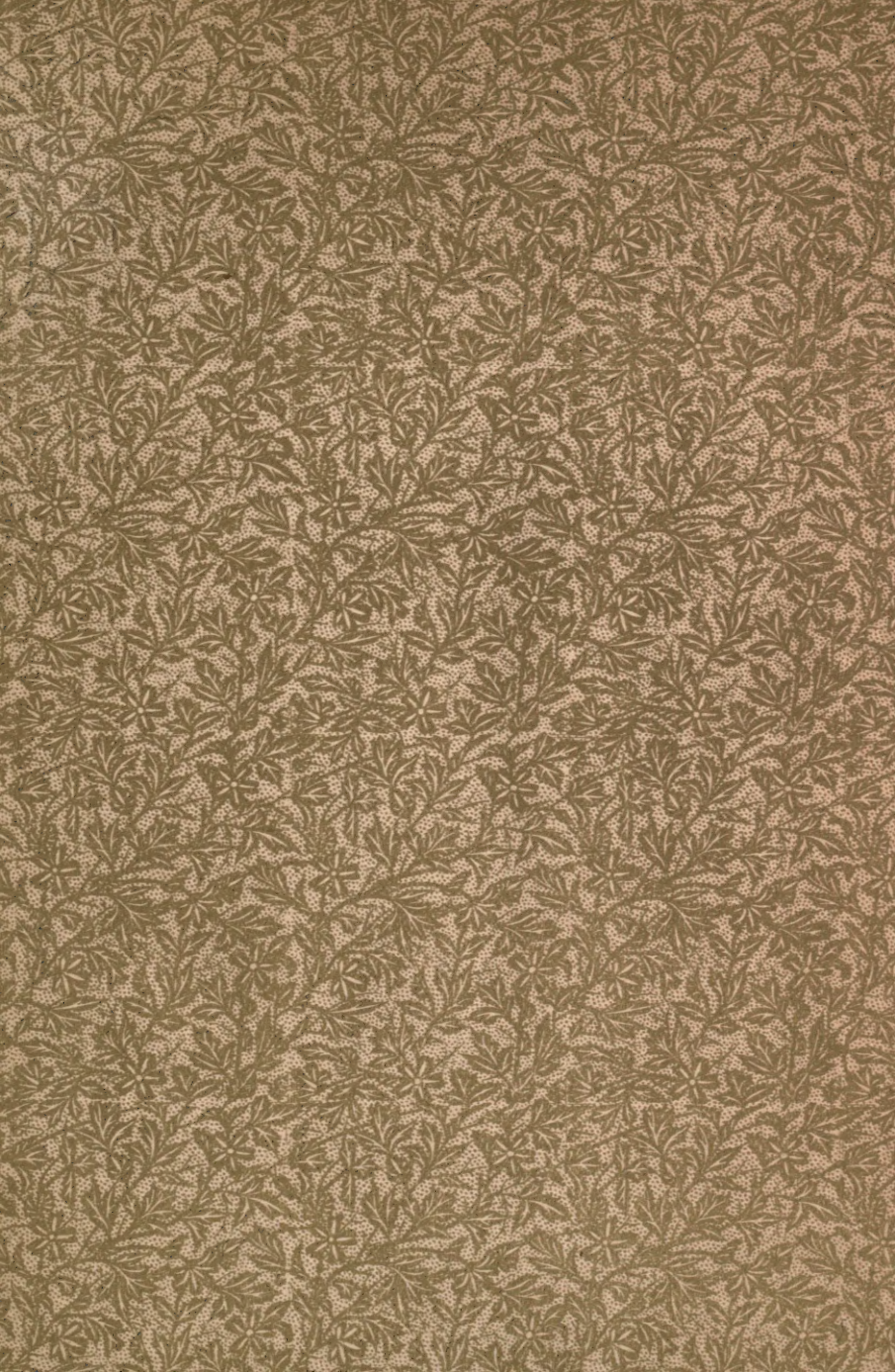


"THE
PERPETUITY OF
OUR INSTITUTIONS
RESTS UPON THE MAIN-
TENANCE OF A FREE BAL-
LOT, AN HONEST COUNT,
AND CORRECT RE-
TURNS."—Republican
Platform.

BLAINE AND LOGAN



THE LIBRARY
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THE UNIVERSITY
OF CALIFORNIA
LOS ANGELES





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James G. Maine
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LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES

OF

JAMES G. BLAINE,

EMBRACING

A SKETCH OF HIS CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH; HIS EDUCATION; THE BEGINNING OF HIS PUBLIC CAREER; HIS RISE AS A STATESMAN; HIS PART IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF GARFIELD; HIS LITERARY WORK, AND HIS NOMINATION FOR THE PRESIDENCY OF THE UNITED STATES.

TOGETHER WITH A SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF

GEN. JOHN A. LOGAN,

TO WHICH IS ADDED

A Compendium of Political Statistics and Information,

INCLUDING

LIVES AND ADMINISTRATIONS OF THE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES; HISTORY OF ALL POLITICAL PARTIES; TABULATED SUMMARIES, GIVING THE STATISTICAL FACTS AND FIGURES CONNECTED WITH EVERY PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION; THE WHOLE CONSTITUTING AN INVALUABLE

VOTERS' HAND-BOOK.

By JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, LL. D.,

Author of a Popular History of the United States, Life and Work of Garfield, etc., etc.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY WM. H. BLAINE.

Illustrated.

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UNION OF CALIFORNIA

AT LOS ANGELES

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PREFACE.

FOR as many as three general reasons the nomination of JAMES G. BLAINE for the Presidency may be received with great satisfaction. The first of these is that at the Chicago Convention of 1884 the Dark Horse folly was effectually, let us hope forever, buried out of sight. As a general rule, the big brained men have been kept from pre-ferment under our political system. The theory which the obscure many have adopted for the subordination of the illustrious few is that it is fatal for a man to have a record. He must be great, but have no record. He must be eloquent, but never say any thing; work, but never do any thing; lead, but never lead any thing. On several occasions in our political history this theory has prevailed to the extent of thrusting aside the great Americans to the end that some obscure Accident without a record might go up to the high places of power.

It might be invidious to specify the instances in our history in which the notion that unknown mediocrity is more "available" than genius has prevailed over common sense. Time and again we have witnessed the spectacle of some unheard-of intelligence stepping into the arena and carrying off the wreath which patriotism had woven for the

forehead of the great. At last, however, the reaction has set in, and as a consequence the Dark Horse droops his head. He is no longer admired. It is doubtful whether he will ever again be an object of interest. His stall in the political livery is, for the time, at least, abandoned, and it is not likely that the crowds will ever again return. For this result the Nation is indebted to the steady and determined supporters of Mr. Blaine in the Chicago convention. They had made up their minds that the great *Equus niger Americanus* should be turned to grass, and that the man with a record should hereafter be preferred to the political Nobody. The result is satisfying.

In the second place, the Chicago convention is notable for this, that the grand army of office-holders has gone to the rear; they have fallen back before a victorious charge of the people. There is no doubt that for a time, at least, the unorganized masses have triumphed over the organized cohort of officials, determined as they were to keep themselves in power forever. One of the most dangerous tendencies recently exhibited in American politics has been the continuance of men in office until their terms have run beyond the usual limit, then to transfer them to other positions in the service, and so on *ad infinitum*.

The American Government does not belong to any class of men. As a matter of fact, it is a government of the people, and is intended to be only incidentally beneficial to those who are in office. For some time past it has appeared that the opposite theory and practice were about to prevail; that the government is intended to be a government of the office-holders, and only incidentally beneficial to the people.

Against the latter principle the Chicago Convention planted itself defiantly, victoriously. In that body the officials were, as a rule, determined to compass the defeat of him who, in the end, proved to be too strong for their battalion. The office-holder who favored the nomination of Blaine was a bird as rare as his plumage was fair. Doubtless the Republican candidate is himself a politician, skilled in all the tactics which may be suggested by profound originality and varied experience. Doubtless, too, he has long held office, and is well acquainted with the ways by which the office once gained is kept. Still the fact stands as before, that Mr. Blaine was the people's man at Chicago, and that the office-holders of the country were against him almost to a unit. The people for once won the battle, and the victory has become in some sort a pledge and vindication of the principle that the offices of the Republic do not belong of proscriptive right to the occupants.

In the third place, the nomination of Blaine marks the reappearance of civic abilities in the high places of the Nation. It was inevitable that the Civil War should transmit to the American people a vast array of military talent and reputation, not specially distinguished for skill in the management of the state. It was equally inevitable and perhaps right, that the people should for more than two decades after the close of the conflict continue, sometimes at their own expense, to honor those who had defended the Nation with their lives by raising them to high office, this without an over-scrupulous regard to fitness. But it was also necessary that in the course of time statesmanship, a thing withal not less necessary and honorable than military

heroism, should reassert itself in the conduct of public affairs. It remained for the year 1884 to witness, not indeed the neglect of the soldier, but the vindication of the citizen, and the recognition of his rights to the joint honors of his country.

Mr. Blaine is a civilian. His tremendous influence over the opinions and actions of his fellow-men proceeds wholly from his abilities as a statesman. Thoroughly loyal to the soldier, his own activities have been exerted in the management of civil affairs, the direction of legislation. Albeit no soldier himself, he has been the soldier's champion in the arena of fierce conflict, and has won for the defenders of the Union victories almost as renowned as those which they themselves achieved in the bloody field of war.

The Republican candidate for the Presidency has a tremendous hold upon the affections of his party friends. He is popular. It is not to be denied or overlooked that his positive and aggressive spirit has aroused the antagonism of not a few prominent men in the ranks of his own party. It was impossible that he should not do so; but it is very hard for any one to say that he does not hold Blaine in high respect. Not only Republicans, but Democrats as well, have as a general rule been constrained to acknowledge this—the sterling qualities of the Chicago nominee and his great strength with the people. It was the peculiarity of the Democratic notices of the result at Chicago that very few underrated the powerful ticket which the Republicans had put into the field. This sentiment may well be illustrated in the following extract from the leading editorial in the Cincinnati *Enquirer* of the 7th of June :

"The idol of the Republican masses has achieved a most decisive victory. The politicians, tricksters, manipulators, and professional schemers for power and place have been overthrown, and the man of the people chosen.

"James G. Blaine was not born with a silver spoon in his mouth. As a boy he was compelled to battle with poverty, and in the hand-to-hand struggle with life had to push aside the arrogance which wealth invariably begets and wears. As a young man, he was compelled to be the tutor instead of the spoiled and pampered pupil. When he dared to enter political life, he was met by that rascality which wealth is too often the parent of. But Mr. Blaine always maintained a steadfast course, and to-day he is the most conspicuous figure and the strongest man in his party. It must be conceded that he is the most capable man and the most thorough master of politics that can be found within the Republican hosts to-day. Blaine is a statesman, while too many of his contemporaries are merely politicians. Always the defender of American interests, he will awaken an enthusiasm that no other man in his party possibly could.

"The means by which certain of his own party sought to compass his defeat were of the vilest and most vicious character, and naturally have fallen harmless upon him. To the unparalleled lying of a few of the daily newspapers and the low caricatures of a portion of the illustrated press, Mr. Blaine should feel much indebted. The magnanimity, the manliness and the spirit of fair play which predominate in the American character asserted themselves by awarding the victory to Blaine in answer to the vile attacks which were made upon him."

Another striking circumstance of the Chicago Convention was that the second place on the ticket was not flung away to a Nobody. In this respect the delegates exercised great care and circumspection. It is known to all the world, that General John A. Logan made a strong race for the head of the

course, and but for the invincible strength of Mr. Blaine might have succeeded in gaining the coveted position. By the law of fitness General Logan was precisely the man to name for the Vice-presidency. His brilliant record as a soldier of the Union is happily balanced against the equally brilliant record of Blaine as a civilian. There is just enough of unlikeness in the men to give great strength to the combination. The "team" is as strong as their coupled names are euphonious.

Such are the principal sources of interest in the Republican standard-bearers of 1884. Added to these is the exciting fact that the pending election is in the very nature of things destined to be a close and hot encounter, and the other fact that presidential elections in the United States always attract the closest attention of the people and a profound interest in their candidates.

These reasons are sufficient for opening to American voters, especially to those of the Republican faith, an account of the lives and deeds of their favorite leaders.

J. C. R.

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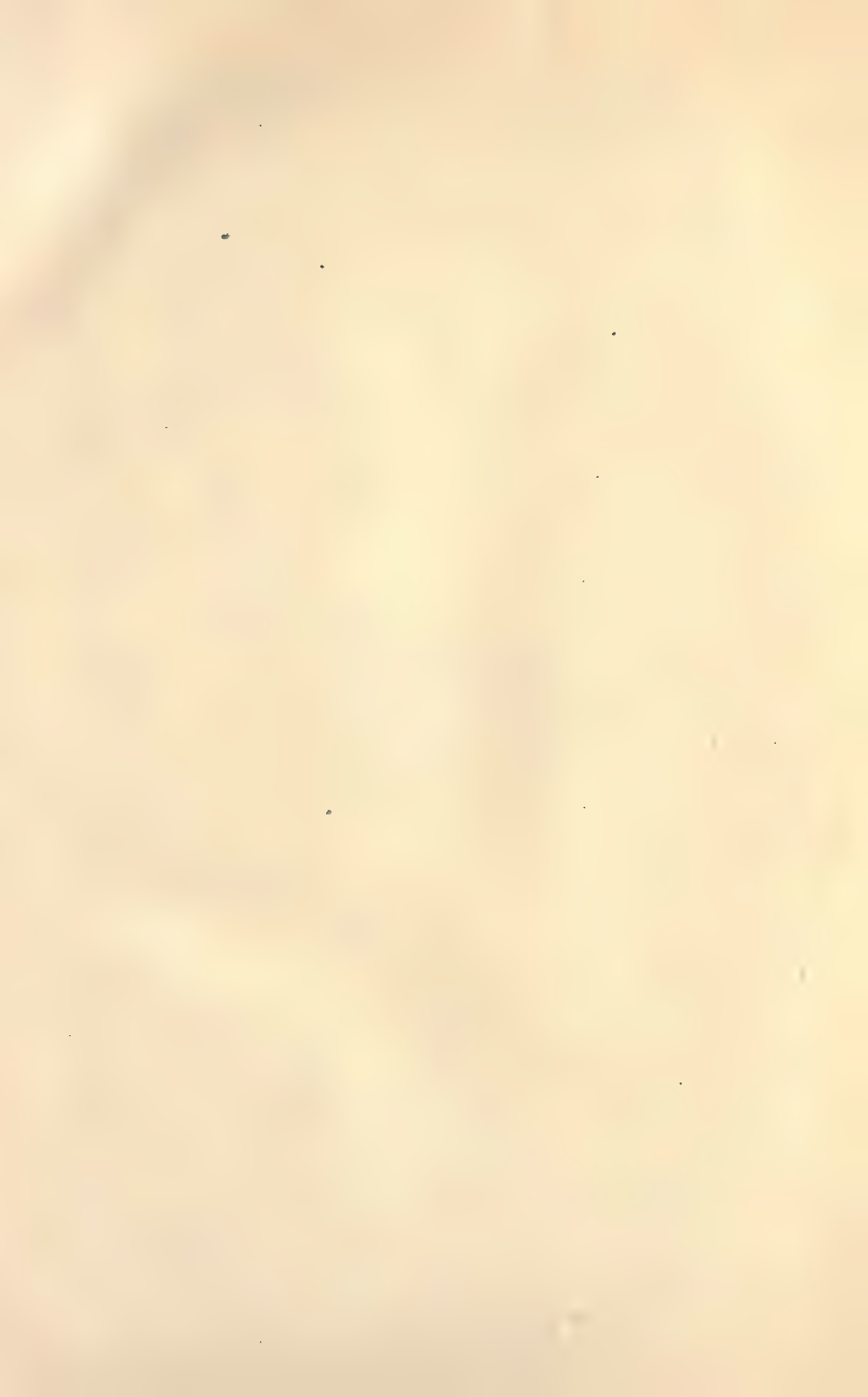
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FRONT VIEW OF THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON.

INTRODUCTION.

By WILLIAM H. BLAINE.

“The greatest glory of a free-born people
Is to transmit that freedom to their children.”

HAVARD.

PARTIES AND PARTISANS.

FREEDOM is a blessing. In servitude, no race of men was ever prosperous or happy. Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are the guarantees of free government. If all men are created equal, then these blessings should be equally guaranteed to all. Certainly, every man, woman, and child beneath the American flag should be protected in their enjoyment.

In speaking of freedom, we do not mean license. The first is the desire and the pride of the good man; the second the boast of the bad. It is the just remark of a modern writer that the coveted liberty of a state of nature exists only in a state of solitude. In every kind and degree of union, and intercourse with his species, it is possible that the liberty of the individual may be augmented by the very laws which restrain it; because he may gain more from the limitation of other men's freedom than he suffers from the diminution of his own. Natural liberty is defined as the right of common upon a waste; civil liberty is the safe, exclusive, unmolested enjoyment of a cultivated inclosure.

The fourth article of the Constitution declares that “the

United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government." But there can be no republican government until every citizen of the United States is protected in every right guaranteed by the Constitution and the laws. American slavery—so far, at least, as its legality is concerned—is a thing of the past. It was destroyed by the civil war, and we have gone through the form of conferring political privileges upon the freed people; but have we adequately protected them in the exercise of these privileges? Have we placed them in a position to assert civil and political rights equal to those enjoyed by the dominant race? Evidently not. It is true that in many localities the people of color vote, and their votes are honestly returned. In other localities it is only the form of voting—the shadow without the substance—for the ballots of the colored population are thrown out of the count, as was discovered at the South in 1876; and in still other places the colored man is not permitted to vote at all, unless he deposits the ballot prepared for him by his employer, or some one equally posted in public affairs. If we seek to benefit the colored man, these irregularities should be promptly reformed.

The privilege of engaging in remunerative toil is one of the blessings of freedom which ought to be highly appreciated in the United States. In this country, wages are high. They are, and they ought to be, higher than in any other country of the world. The reason is, that the laborers of this country are the country itself. The vast proportion of those who own the soil cultivate their own acres. The proprietors are the tillers—the laborers. But this is not all. The citizens of our country are part and parcel of

the government. Such a state of things exists nowhere else upon the face of the globe.

If we desire to maintain free government, we must see to it that labor with us is not put in competition with the ignorant pauper labor of Europe. Our men who labor have families to maintain, to educate, and fit for the responsible duties of freemen. They have sons to fit for the discharge of the manifold duties of life; they have a responsible and intelligent part to act for themselves and their connections. And is labor like this to be reduced to a level with that of the half-fed, half-clothed, ignorant, debased, dependent wage-serfs of the great part of Europe? America must then cease to be free and independent. Her government must then be taken from the hands of the people; for they would be unfit to rule, if reduced to the condition which free trade would make inevitable. What would the free traders give us in return for our republican institutions? But it is scarcely necessary to ask. The resources of all the world are too poor to afford an equivalent exchange for them. Free trade is inimical to our best development, to our independence, and to the very genius of republicanism. It should be stamped out of all our politics as a pestiferous heresy.

The predominant interests of our countrymen are involved in the issue of great and oft-recurring political contests. These contests are always of prevailing concern, at times all-absorbing; and the leading intellects of the country, so long as our institutions shall happily remain free, must be largely devoted to the discussion of questions pertaining to the management of the national government. As the coun-

try progresses in extent and increases in population and wealth, these questions are becoming more varied and complicated.

The necessity for new measures, and for the enlarged application of established principles to meet the exigencies of the times, demand constant action upon the part of those to whom the people have committed their most sacred affairs, and the formation of parties assuming antagonistic positions upon these matters is a necessary result, aside from the inducements to division arising from personal ambition, cupidity, and love of place and power, which are found mixed up with all human interests. Of such organizations, numerous existing or constantly springing up, the greater part are indeed of a local nature, or grow out of temporary excitements; two, however, embrace all the rest, and mainly divide the commonwealth. These great organizations are born of different elements, exist by different means and in a different atmosphere. In every thing of vital concern their relation by principles, policy, practice, is that of natural, unavoidable opposition.

That to whose principles, policy, and practice we have devoted special attention in the following pages, is the real party of progress and improvement. It commends itself to the people and is supported by them, not less for its steadfast and unyielding loyalty to the nation—for its unwavering support of constitutional and established rights, and its endeavors to preserve law, liberty, and order inviolate—than for the ameliorating and liberalizing tendency of its principles and policy. In all that tends to give strength to the Union, and knit together its various sections by the in-

dissoluble bands of a common interest and affection, the REPUBLICAN PARTY occupies the advance, and proposes to maintain it. -

Protection to the laborer and the producer, to the merchant, the manufacturer, and the agriculturist; integrity and economy in the discharge of official trusts; the vigilant defense, as against the world, of national dignity and honor; the observance of good faith in all our dealings with and treatment of other nations; the maintenance of a sound currency; an extension of the resources of the country by the construction of harbors, the improvement of water-ways, and assistance to other means of commerce as the wants of the people demand; a vigorous administration of the laws; the separation of the seats of justice, by all possible barriers, from popular impression; the general promotion of knowledge and an enlargement of the means of education; the reservation of the public lands for the use of actual settlers; the protection of every citizen in the enjoyment of life, liberty, and the products of his own hand and brain,—these form an outline of the distinctive principles of the Republican party; by these and other cognate sentiments and measures it is known and celebrated, and will be known to the remotest posterity.

It is distinctively the party of the people, and when the personal rivalries and partisan asperities of the day shall have been forgotten, and the mellowing hand of time shall have consigned to the future only the virtues of the present, the positions, the aims, and the glorious achievements of the Republican party will stand out like watch-towers and beacon-lights upon the most elevated points of history, and be referred to and quoted as monuments to

inspire, as precedents to guide, another race of statesmen and patriots; and whatever it may now do, the world will then acknowledge the moral heroism of those who, doubtless with some defects and some temporary mistakes, withstood in their day the assault of treason armed and determined, the tide of corruption, the insidious arts of demagogues, and the clamors of faction, and taking their stand upon the platform of the Constitution, defended the honor, the integrity, the very life of their country, from open and secret assault, and preserved to their countrymen the inestimable blessings of a free government.

The other great political division is essentially anarchical in its principles and tendencies. In saying this we would not be understood as denying to the great body of its members their claim to sincerity; for the mass of the people, whatever may be their predilections, and however erroneous their views, are unquestionably sincere and honest in their professions. Whatever the pretensions of their leaders may be, they are practically working to destroy the prosperity of the country, to corrupt the morals of the people, to weaken the authority of law, and utterly to change the primitive elements of the government, precisely as they worked for these ends twenty-five years ago. Had they the power, they would yield to the South its once desired Confederacy, with all the name implies, provided the South would receive it. These are grave charges, but they are substantiated by the record and by living evidence.

There is an unhappy and imperishable part of our national history which convicts the leaders of this antagonistic party of a systematic, determined, and long-continued

attempt to dismember and destroy the American Union. Larger ability for destruction was all they needed to insure its downfall. Professing an exclusively democratic creed, and pretending to entertain an earnest desire to advance the greatest good of the greatest number, every period of the dominancy of this party in the government was signalized by wide-spread ruin and distress, as plainly as the smoldering pile and the ravaged field ever marked the course of an invading army.

A profligate waste of the public treasure; a general depression in all the various branches of business and enterprise; the country without a currency at all equal to its wants; depreciation of nearly every species of property; a denial to the people of their only safe means of securing an adequate market for the products of the soil, cheating honest industry of its rewards; a dishonorable treatment of public creditors; a blind obedience to party dictation, in which the voice of conscience is stifled, and patriotism and the eternal principles of right and justice thrown aside as worthless considerations; a corruption of the elective franchise; the civil power defied and the military degraded; countenance and support to organized revolutionary parties acting in direct hostility to the laws, and in subversion of all government; the basest perfidy toward foreign nations; the boldest disregard of the most sacred trusts,—these acts and consequences have attached themselves to and distinguished the party which has strangely arrogated to itself the title of DEMOCRATIC—as if democracy consisted not in leveling up and preserving, but in reducing all things to an equality of faithlessness, degradation, and ruin.

Practical errors of individuals or of nations are comparatively of little consequence. They are of the present and may be retrieved. They belong to history, and their effects become weaker with remoteness in the past. It is the elements native to the character, the ineradicable principles and tendencies, that are of abiding concern. And these, with the leaders of the Democratic party, appear to us subversive of all correct principles and thoroughly pernicious. The rank and file of the party are led on by delusive cries, they know not well to what; but discerning men can not fail to see that they are, in different ways, *according to different sections of the country*, practically working to relax the whole spirit of law among us, to disorganize and change the original frame-work and proportions of our government, and under the deceptive name of advancement, descending in a rapid progression to schemes of evil. There is scarcely any dangerously radical opinion, any specious, delusive theory upon social, political, or moral points, which does not in some part of the country find its peculiar aliment and growth among the heterogeneous elements of this party.

They are not content with sober improvement, but desire a freedom larger than the Constitution. They have a feeling that the very fact an institution has long existed, makes it insufficient for the growth of the age—for the wonderful demands of the latter-day ripping up and tearing down. In a word, revolution with them is progress, and the more destructive the greater the advance. Whenever the maddened voice of faction or the mercenary designs of party leaders demand a triumph over established institutions and

rightful authority, they—the party—rush blindly but exultingly forward, and call it “reform.” They have always shown themselves ready to set aside the most solemn covenants upon a bare change of majorities. In some sections of the country they have exhibited a marked hostility to useful corporations, even to the crying down institutions of learning as aristocratic monopolies. They have always been disposed to make the stability of legislation dependent upon the dominancy of a party, and to consider the law of the land as having no majesty, no authority, no divine force inherent in itself; as not a great idea enthroned among men, coeval with Eternal Justice—which feeling alone can keep it from being trampled under foot of the multitude—but as derived from and existing by the uncertain sanction of the popular will. And in all this they are not merely loosening the foundations of order and good government, as they did in the act of secession; they are paving the way—or would, if they could—first, to anarchy; then to despotism. Such is the natural tendency of the Confederate notions they fought for once, and to which they are ready to sacrifice the country whenever they obtain control of the government.

We are well aware of the serious character of this arraignment; but it is a true bill. The Democratic party during the past twenty-five years has resorted to the most desperate trickery that political bankruptcy could suggest—to the cunning of the mountebank, the delusions of the stock gambler, and conditional promises of empire to the sworn enemies of the government. Trained in a discipline which regards politics as an arena, not a battle-field, and dealing with its conflicts as mere prolusions of arms,

and not an honest and serious warfare; bred in a school of absolute political skepticism, where anything or nothing may be professed for the time being, to answer the demand of the hour, they, one and all, leaders and followers, masters and disciples, demagogues and dupes, regard a political campaign as merely a game of skill and chance, in which the spoils of office are the highest stake at risk, and when they are lost, Democratic grief is comfortless.

The great leader of the Democratic party in 1859-60, interposed no serious objection to an unconditional surrender of the government into the hands of the Secessionists, and our armory, our military chest, and many of our important defenses, were betrayed to them in a spasm of weakness and treachery beyond the descriptive power of words; but they were unquestionably devoted to some promised advantage to the Democratic cause. The situation brought about by this treason, this surrender to the slave power, was unparalleled in all history. It bred throughout the country a political pestilence, temporarily enfeebling to the nation, but apparently surcharged with vitality for the embittered followers of Davis, Vallandigham, Toombs & Co. How is it possible to brand deep enough the infamy of this act, which was so full of woe to free institutions, and so imperiling to the beneficent dominion of constitutional government? It was the murderous devotion of the results of our first century of independence to the fire and sword of *faction*, the judgment of traitors, the mercy of spoilsmen. Faction is the proper term. The Democratic party merged itself into secession as naturally as ever the purwiggy merged into the batrachian, and then it found its true level in faction.

Let us explain. A party is an organized union upon the basis of a principle or a system of principles, and proposes the good of those it represents. Opposing parties differ in their principles, and of course in their measures, but agree in their objects—the common weal. A faction confines its aims and objects within itself; “its be all and its end all” is self-aggrandizement. Factions, then, are as much the foes of popular government as parties are its ministers and defenders. The generous spirit of party, vehement though it be, invigorates and warms, cherishes and sustains, the whole fabric of the State. The gnawing tooth of faction corrodes every prop, and exhausts every spring of public prosperity. It venerates nothing whose destruction seems to promise the success of its schemes, and opposes nothing, however criminal it may be, which bids fair to assist the realization of its hopes. Little parties operating within narrow limits, dealing with small interests, and, of necessity, somewhat confounding public and personal concerns, are constantly in danger of sinking into factions; but the dignity, amplitude, and diversity of the elements which make up the character and the substance, the soul and the body, of a great national party, had, up to twenty-five years ago, been supposed to present sufficient obstacles to a general degradation of its objects and a universal profligacy in its means and measures. But such general degradation and universal profligacy, when they once thoroughly obtain in a powerful party of an empire or a State, augur a lamentable decay of public virtue in many of the leading minds of a people, and a coldness of patriotism in its common mass, which, unchecked, must precipitate its ruin. This is what

they threatened for the Union of these States, when the Democratic party, or faction, assumed the position of bottle-holder for the solid South; and had there been no Republican party in 1860, to-day there would be no United States upon the American continent! And we would have had no one to thank or criticise for its absence but the so-called Democratic party.

It is of interest to inquire as to what this Democracy has busied itself in and about since 1860, and what its position is at the present time. During the civil war, it exerted its best talents to help the enemies and discourage the friends of the Union. Its disciples at the North were the most despicable traitors a country ever harbored—spies in the camp of the Union—and at the South they were destroying the lives of the Nation's defenders, hoping through their destruction to drain the life-blood of the government. Since the war, they have resolved themselves into the old factional condition taught by previous experience; but having no question of slavery to bank upon, no Fugitive Slave-law to discuss, no Dred Scott Decision to celebrate, no Kansas and Nebraska Bill to resolve about, they have been forced into a mere negative position upon every question except the protective tariff, upon which their partisans in the various sections of the country adhere to every variety and shade of doctrine yet discovered by civilized man. What the real "democracy" of the question is, seems quite past finding out.

The great plank of their platform is *Democracy in the Abstract*, not embodied in any system of principles, nor yet shaped into any project of measures, and not even incar-

nate in the form of any man, since the self-withdrawal from public view of the lamented Tilden. If the factional Democracy has its will, the omnipotence of the "popular element" will be illustrated and established in the approaching campaign beyond all cavil; for out of nothing it will create something. The right and the capacity of the people to choose their own rulers will be vindicated by the extremest test requiring them to vote for (1), Abstract Democracy; (2), Abstract Availability; (3), Abstract Spoils. If they declare this to be their platform, they will prove the possession of more honesty than they have exhibited at any time in the past quarter century; for, seriously and truthfully, it is all they would have to go upon. And they would like to realize upon this soon as possible!

The American flag is the banner of the Republican party. By the Republican party has it been preserved, and its bright stars kept untarnished and undimmed. Through blood and anguish the Republican party made it, twenty years ago, the flag of the freedman.

The motto of the Republican party is, "*E Pluribus Unum*." It is theirs by right of conquest. Without their aid it would have been erased from the great seal. Without their prowess and good judgment, it would long ago have become inapplicable to the great seal, and practically meaningless to Americans.

Is there a citizen of the United States who does not appreciate the benefits and blessings of our free government? What is it now as compared with its condition under the administrations of Pierce and Buchanan? Then it was weak, timid, anarchical. Now it is strong, self-assured, and

united. From 1852 to 1860 it passed through eight years of desperate feud and faction, and then, weak, crippled, and despairing, it was surrendered into the hands of the Republicans. We respectfully request the obliging reader to peruse the history of our country for the past thirty-two years, and then decide whether he wishes the control of the government to remain with the Republican party, or whether he is willing to turn it over to the political executors of that faction which disregarded its covenants and mangled its integrity.

W. H. BLAINE.





ANNOUNCING THE RESULT OF THE FOURTH BALLOT.



CALIFORNIA AND MAINE DELEGATES EN ROUTE TO AUGUSTA.

LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES

OF

JAMES G. BLAINE.

CHAPTER I.

TYPICAL MEN OF THEIR EPOCHS.

“Great men stand like solitary towers in the city of God, and secret passages running deep beneath external nature give their thoughts intercourse with higher intelligences, which strengthens and consoles them, and of which the laborers on the surface do not even dream.”

LONGFELLOW.

THERE is a curious sentiment of Lavater, that the proportion of genius to the vulgar is like one to a million; but genius without tyranny, without pretension, that judges the weak with equity, the superior with humanity, and equals with justice, is like one to ten millions. We can not look upon a really great man without advantage to ourselves. The more we study him, the greater will be our profit from the observation, from knowledge of his methods, deeds, and results. For us the man of the epoch is the living light-fountain, which it is good and pleasant to be near; the light which enlightens the dark places of the world and the gloom of human hearts; and this, not as a kindled lamp only, but rather as a natural luminary, shin-

ing by the grace of God; a brilliant light-fountain of native original insight, of manhood and heroism, in whose radiance all minds are cheered and ennobled. In the world's records the names of such are few, but the history of some is interleaved with the annals of those times called "barbaric," and of the dark ages, and even then they sowed the seeds of that civilization which has fructified in the liberal enlightenment of the present day.

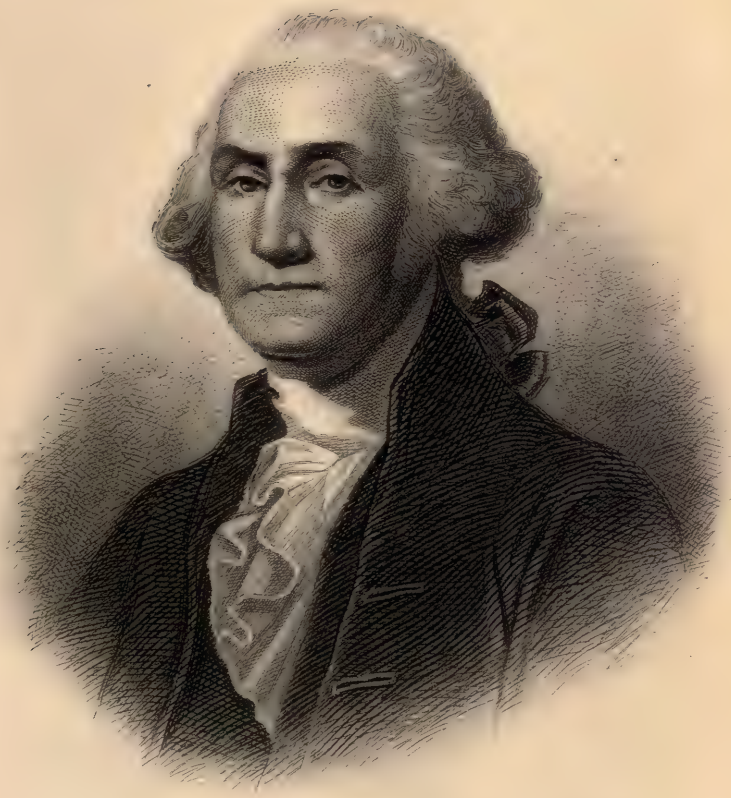
From the era of the great prophet, who saw in the burning bush that which the mind of man is powerless to comprehend, and whence the first great promise of human emancipation, mental as well as physical, was received, down through all the circling years, through the crumbling of empires and the downfall of States, through the sorrows of war, pestilence, and cruel wrong, as well as sometimes through the brief sunlight of triumph and joyfulness, down to the era of Lincoln, who, for truth and a better manhood, died, not alone for his country, but for the holy cause of liberty to the world, there have lived men in every age who have stamped its achievements and its laws with the indelible impress of their genius. With them success has followed upon the heels of every effort; steadfast well-doing has brought them renown and the highest favor; and their names are enrolled upon the register of the centuries in a form as imperishable as history. Their deeds are substantially the history of the time in which they lived—certainly the most instructive part of it. How much interest would the history of the eighth century elicit from the reader of to-day, were the achievements of Charlemagne—that master-mind who laid the first solid foundation for a

permanent system of Christian government and institutions—omitted from its details?

He was the author of many of the laws and the ardent promoter of the best elements of civilization. Succeeding to an empire torn by intestine feuds, he checked its turbulence with vigor and address, compelled the recognition of national law, inspired a wide circuit of Europe with a common interest and common objects, and led men to pursue these interests and maintain these objects with collective counsel as well as with united resources and efforts. He founded the original of all royal societies and academies, and was the first to combine in one military monarchy a feudal nobility, a somewhat free commons, and a kind of constitutional assembly of States. He is justly regarded as the father of the modern policy of Europe, and has claims which are universally acknowledged to the regard and veneration of the ages which have benefited from his doings and his life. The world dates a new era from his wise and beneficent reign. Insensibly it may be, but surely, his spirit pervades the thoughts and politics of all modern nations, teaching them, by precept and example which can not be too highly esteemed, how best to pursue the gradual paths of an aspiring change.

The American student of men possesses a higher archetype of nobility for his imitation than any of those embalmed in ancient story. It was our good fortune to begin the active life of this government under the guidance of Washington—a man whose highest point of honor was loyalty to his country and his God; whose judgment was ripened by the most arduous experience in the struggle for

independence; whose intelligence was comprehensive and admirably adapted to the exigencies of his administration. Every word of high encomium yet applied to man belongs to him, for in his eyes duty was the law of every correct life; duty, the upholding principle through which the weakest become strong; without which all strength is unstable as water. He believed that the conviction of duty implies the soundest reason, the strongest obligation of which our nature is susceptible, and while "he stood firm before the thunder, he yet worshiped the still small voice." Duty is the prompting of conscience. Washington was a conscientious man, and his intelligence directed conceptions of duty to heroic deeds. The auspicious occasion assisted him, but any occasion for the exercise of heroism would have proved equally auspicious. Patriotism, nobility, and soldiership are all synonyms of duty, and these qualities culminated in his life. He was the man of the eighteenth century, as was Charlemagne of the eighth—not so much by force of his genius, as by his purity and trustworthiness. He was faithful in small things as well as in great. Every talent conferred upon him was put to the best possible use. He followed the dictates of conscience, whichever way they led. "Honest, truthful, diligent," were the insignia of his creed. His best products, as are those of all deliberate men, were happy and sanctifying thoughts, which, when once formed and put in practice, are capable of extending their fertilizing influence for thousands of years, and from generation to generation. But the life of Washington has been so often written that it is unnecessary in this place to refer to it further than to point out the thorough conscientiousness, the self-



George Washington



sacrificing spirit, the purity of motive with which he entered upon and carried out to completion the liberation and independence of his country. No man could be more pure, no man more self-denying. In victory he was self-controlled; in defeat, unshaken. Throughout he was magnanimous and pure. In his life it is difficult to learn which to admire most ardently, the nobility of his character, the firmness of his patriotism, or the purity of his conduct; but the combination made him a man of divine temper, and "take him for all in all," it is not to be expected that we shall look upon his like again.

Lincoln was of another, but not less heroic mold. His greatness was morally gigantic and unexplainable.

"Ev'n to the dullest peasant standing by,
Who fasten'd still on him a wondering eye,
He seem'd the master-spirit of the land."

He was incomparable, and his character and achievements more difficult of analysis than those of any American in history. The great charms of the man were his honesty, geniality, and faithfulness, and these, thank God! will always remain the pre-eminent charms of poor humanity; but we must not forget that Lincoln encountered obstacles, assumed duties, and conquered impediments which were entirely new to every American citizen previous to his time. Difficulties and calamities sharpened his apprehension, and called into activity all the faculties of his powerful intellect. His mind was brightest in disaster—most alert under defeat. It is thought probable that Madame de Maintenon would never have mounted a throne had not her cradle been rocked in a prison. So with hundreds who have risen to greatness.

There was needed something in their path to surmount before they could rise to the gaze of the world. Difficulties are a mere stimulus to men like Lincoln, supplying the discipline which greatly assists their onward and upward course. He, like thousands of great men before him, was a disciple of Plato, but, perhaps, unconsciously so; at any rate, he followed the advice of that wonderful philosopher, "Let men of all ranks, whether they are successful or unsuccessful, whether they triumph or not, let them do their duty and rest satisfied." But the qualities of the man most difficult of analysis were those which compelled the admiration and respect of the civilized world; which conquered the prejudices of political opponents, and commanded the love of all who knew him personally. Said a Virginian, who had called upon him at the prompting of idle curiosity: "I believe he is the greatest man in the world. When I went there I expected to find a fellow to make fun of, but I'm the one to laugh at. He knows more about my State than I do, and I was born in Old Virginia, and thought I knew all about her. When I told him I was a Democrat, he smiled and said some of his best friends were troubled with the same disease, but he supposed they could n't help it. After it had run its course he thought they would come out all right, if they lived. We had a hearty laugh, and he asked me to call whenever I came to Washington. I tell you, if all radicals were like him, I'd be one myself."

This incident appears simple in the reading, but it illustrates the power of Lincoln over every mind with which he came in contact. And this is the power no one has yet attempted to analyze, although some observers call it

“personal magnetism,” and seem content without explanation. It was possessed in a large degree by Henry Clay, and attracted the people toward him like the obedient steel which turns forever to the pole. Garfield had the same power in a degree which remains a wonder to his friends; and Blaine is endowed with it beyond precedent or example. It is the magnetism—if that is the proper term—of intellectual supremacy; the regality of mind which is apparent to the world, but of which the possessor is unconscious; which can not result from instruction, but is self-creative, and springs up under every disadvantage. It works its solitary but irresistible way through all obstacles, while nature seems to delight in disappointing the assiduities of art, with which it would rear dullness to maturity; and to glory in the vigor and luxuriance of her chance productions. She scatters the seeds of genius to the winds, and though some may perish among the stony places of the world, and some may be choked by the thorns and brambles of early adversity, yet others will now and then strike root even in the clefts of the rock, struggle bravely up into the sunshine, and spread over their sterile birthplace all the beauties of vegetation. Although genius may be conscious of its advantages, in minds like those referred to it is rarely aware of superiority to associate minds; and its achievements which others celebrate are frequently but its ordinary performances.

Charlemagne was born for the glory of his country; Washington, Jefferson, Clay, Webster, Lincoln, Grant, Garfield, and Blaine for the glory of theirs. These names are used to typify the qualities of mind and heart we are cele-

brating; not to distinguish them above all others who have lived; for hundreds who have blessed the world are equally deserving of praise. One of these great names is just now in the mouths of all the people, and it brings "smooth comfort" to such a multitude, that we shall devote to the history and qualities of its honored bearer several of the succeeding chapters of this work.

CHAPTER II.

JAMES GILLESPIE BLAINE.

“He is a noble gentleman ; withal
Happy in 's endeavors ; the general voice
Sounds him for courtesy, behavior, language,
And every fair demeanor an example.
Titles of honor add not to his worth,
Who is himself an honor to his title.”

FORD.

JAMES GILLESPIE BLAINE, Republican nominee for President of the United States, at the Chicago Convention, June 6, 1884, was born January 31, 1830, in Union Township, Washington County, Pennsylvania.

His boyhood years were spent in Washington County, where many reminiscences of the lad are now extant, and where the elderly gossips have suddenly awakened to an appreciation of his early cleverness. The country awakened to an appreciation of his great abilities near twenty years ago.

A word about his ancestors. His great-grandfather, Ephraim Blaine, was an officer in the war of the Revolution, and was with Washington at Valley Forge, with the thinly clad and inadequately fed patriots who were encamped there in the winter of 1777-78, the details of whose experience upon this occasion furnish one of the most pathetic records of the struggle for independence. To the arduous labors and cool judgment of Colonel Blaine as commissary-

general is attributed in a great measure the preservation of the American forces during the most trying emergency our patriot forefathers were compelled to encounter.

The father of the subject of this chapter, Ephraim L. Blaine, was one of the leading men in his county, a magistrate of great influence, and well deserving the title, "a gentleman of the old school." Liberal, hospitable, full of that genial sociability which is so prominently developed in his elder son, his home was the gathering point for all the choice spirits of the neighborhood, where the feast of reason was not infrequently followed by a banquet of more substantial quality. His reputation for open-hearted generosity was well-founded, and so fully illustrated in his life that in a few years he became a poor man, but his good name never suffered from the reverse. His old friends and neighbors speak of his integrity with veneration, and celebrate many instances of true Spartan honesty which were characteristic of his life.

The maiden name of Mr. Blaine's mother was Gillespie. She was of Celtic parentage and a Catholic, but she united her fortunes with those of Ephraim Blaine, a Presbyterian, and found a congenial match. She was a lady of great intelligence, commanding beauty and quick observation, and to her sterling qualities of head and heart is James G. Blaine indebted for the early training which laid the foundation for his life work.

Father and mother are now lying at rest in the churchyard near their old home, where a monument erected by their distinguished son marks the place of their earthly repose.

The early training of young Blaine was supplemented by the village school, where he developed great aptness of memory and a decided taste for history and mathematics. These were sure indications at this early age of the practical mind which has since estimated occasions and results with so much accuracy, and upon whose wonderful retentiveness many of the sharpest repartees ever made in the houses of the American Congress hinged and balanced.

An old friend of the family at West Brownsville relates the following anecdote : At the close of a school term, when Blaine was a mere lad of nine or ten years, he among others was called upon for a declamation, or, as it was called, to "speak a piece." He pleaded lack of preparation; but the teacher replied that he must stand up and repeat something, no matter what. Arising from his seat, he declaimed, with wonderful gestures and astounding emphasis, the Apostles' Creed, which he remembered from hearing it repeated a few times by a school-mate. It answered the emergency.

Many stories are told of his aptness, his combative tendencies, his early habits of industry, his youthful friendships and enmities, all of which are miniatures of the qualities which now shine with so much brilliancy in the developed man, whose honest, ardent nature never fails to make friends of those who can appreciate it, and probably enemies of those who can not.

He left the elementary school to attend an academical institution at Lancaster, Ohio, where he prepared for college. Here, in the family of his uncle, Hon. Thomas Ewing, then Secretary of the United States Treasury, he enjoyed every advantage for social and literary advancement, and improved

them to the utmost. His preparatory course was finished in two years, and then he returned to Pennsylvania and entered Washington College, whence he graduated in 1847.

Mr. Gow, a Pennsylvania editor, who was one of Blaine's classmates, has this to say about his school-days: "Blaine graduated in the class of '47, when he was only seventeen years old. I graduated in the same class. We were thrown a great deal together, not only in school but in society. He was a great favorite in the best social circles in the town. He was not noted as a leader in his class. He could learn his lessons too easily. He had the most remarkable memory of any boy in school, and could commit and retain his lessons without difficulty. He never demonstrated in his youth, except by his own wonderful memory, any of the great powers as a debater and thinker that he has since given evidence of." It is not always easy for a youth of seventeen to pass unerring judgment upon the capabilities of a comrade in school. The official record says that he graduated at the head of his class.

It is said that upon leaving college he besought the influence of Hon. Thomas Ewing to procure him an appointment to some federal office; but the old statesman discouraged this scheme, and advised him to seek a living in a more independent occupation. He adopted teaching, and in this choice we note the similarity between the early bent of his mind and the minds of such men as Webster, Wright, Clay, Garfield, and a host of great workers in the vineyard of humanity. It is the most exclusively intellectual employment known to man, and peculiarly attractive to those who desire distinction in mental work.

He secured a professorship in the Western Military Institute, at Georgetown, Kentucky, where he remained two years, and was eminently successful as a teacher. During this time he applied himself diligently to the study of the law in hours which did not belong to the duties of his regular employment, and to such good purpose that at the end of the period he was admitted to the bar; but he has never been a practicing attorney. In the fine logic of many of his forensic efforts the effect of his legal reading is apparent to the critical observer.

While at Georgetown he became acquainted with Miss Stanwood, a New England lady of distinguished family, and married her. Soon thereafter he removed to Maine, where an engagement in journalism was open for his acceptance. He assumed control of the *Kennebec Journal*, an old paper of respectable antecedents, but with a limited income. It proved insufficient for the comfortable support of those dependent upon it, and Mr. Blaine transferred his services to the *Portland Advertiser*. But it was not long before he returned to Augusta, where he has continued to live for near twenty-five years.

As a journalist he made a brilliant reputation. He knew the wants of newspaper readers, and administered to them intelligently and promptly. His editorials were not lengthy, but they were clear, crisp, and pointed, expressing ideas in a way to please and convince, without offense, but still in that positive, uncompromising tone that brooks no half-way measures. A great many editors who write what they mean, do not impress the public with the idea that they really mean it, and thus their editorials have no effect. A

sincere and positive writer opens his heart with his pen and makes dissimulation and doubt impossible. No one who has read his editorials or his speeches will doubt that Mr. Blaine is a very sincere and a remarkably positive man. He has always declared his convictions without fear or favor, with becoming modesty, but at the same time with the genuine courage of the true reformer. Evidently, he long ago agreed with Mrs. Browning, that

“There’s too much abstract willing, purposing,
In this poor world. We talk by aggregates
And think by systems, and, being used to face
Our evils in statistics, are inclined
To cap them with unreal remedies
Drawn out in haste on the other side the slate.”

No man who does not scorn hypocrisy and pretense can write or speak as he does. No man who lacks the absoluteness of honesty in his inmost soul can write or speak as he does. No man living writes or speaks with more directness or effect than James G. Blaine.

The step from journalism to politics was natural and easy. In 1858 he first came before the people as a candidate for their suffrages, and he was elected as a representative to the Legislature of Maine by a handsome majority. In 1860 his fellow-members elected him Speaker of the House, and it was while in this position that his fame began its most rapid growth. With great assiduity he perfected his knowledge of parliamentary law, and his rulings were invariably prompt and correct. So much ability did he display in this position that his constituents prevailed upon him to make the race for Congress, and in 1862 he was elected to the National House of Representatives by a majority of

3,422. For the six terms to which he was subsequently elected he received the following majorities :

1864.....	4,328
1866.....	6,591
1868.....	3,346
1870.....	2,320
1872.....	3,568
1874.....	2,830

He was three times chosen Speaker of the House, and served six years in that capacity, from March 4, 1869, to March 4, 1875. He received the nomination for the Speakership upon each occasion, in the Republican caucus, by acclamation—an honor not enjoyed by any other candidate for the Speakership before nor since—and he never had a decision reversed or overruled by the House during the entire time of his holding that onerous and difficult office. He presided with dignity and impartiality, and commanded the respect of members of both political parties.

He was appointed Senator July 8, 1876, to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Lot M. Morrill to become Secretary of the Treasury, and he was elected Senator January 16, 1877, both for the long and short terms, by the unanimous vote of the Republicans in the Maine Legislature, both in caucus and in their respective Houses. He was made Secretary of State March 4, 1881, by President Garfield, and held that office until December 12, 1881, when he was succeeded by F. T. Frelinghuysen. Mr. Blaine's public life began in January, 1858; it closed temporarily at the end of 1881, being a period of twenty-four years. It was continuous. He was promoted by the people from one place to another, *and he never got before the people that he was*

not elected. His defeats have been confined to two National Conventions of his own party, in both of which he was the undoubted choice of a majority of the delegates from the Republican States. The politicians have beaten him twice, but the people never.

Fresh in the memory of every one is the fight, hard and heroic, of Blaine's supporters, who sought his nomination at the Cincinnati Convention, of June 6, 1876. Three hundred and seventy-nine votes for Hayes, three hundred and fifty-one for Blaine, and twenty-three for Bristow, stood the seventh ballot. Again in 1880, he renewed his candidacy, and was successful in defeating the third-term movement, and largely instrumental in bringing about the nomination of Mr. Garfield, whose cabinet he entered in March, 1881, as Secretary of State. His career since then is too familiar to need recital. His personal appearance is altogether striking. A rugged mien, a face furrowed with strongly marked lines surrounding the mouth, and other features, bespeak will-power indomitable, and firmness unswerving. Sparse, closely cut hair, and full, frosty beard betray the approach of life's autumn. A youthful elasticity of movement, however, seems to belie the years written to his account in a tell-tale Congressional record. His height is nearly six feet, his frame almost colossal. His attire is altogether appropriate to a carriage too manly to admit of any slouchiness, even in apparel. Neither mind nor body is lacking in muscle and sinew. Face and form alike convey an impression of vigor and resolution.

It is, however, in a certain psychological influence over his fellow-men that Mr. Blaine is most conspicuously dis-

tinguished from his companions in high political life. His power flows from his mind and enters the minds of others. Men call it magnetism. He gives off to those with whom he associates and receives from them the electrical currents of sympathy and fraternity. Men are drawn to him. They follow him by preference, and sway to the movements of his will. To no other of the present political leaders in our republic do men look with so much enthusiasm as to the magnetic Blaine.

The following table exhibits Mr. Blaine's vote in the Cincinnati Convention of 1876, and in the Chicago Convention of 1880, by States. It is specially valuable for reference at this time:

STATES.	1876	1880	STATES.	1876	1880
Alabama,	17	1	Nebraska,	6	6
Arkansas,	11	1	Nevada,	7	6
California,	6	12	New Hampshire,	7	10
Colorado,	6	1	New Jersey,	12	16
Connecticut,	2	3	New York,	9	17
Delaware,	6	6	North Carolina,	1	1
Florida,	8	1	Ohio,	1	9
Georgia,	14	8	Oregon,	6	6
Illinois,	35	10	Pennsylvania,	30	23
Indiana,	26	10	Rhode Island,	2	8
Iowa,	22	22	South Carolina,	7	1
Kansas,	10	6	Tennessee,	6	6
Kentucky,	1	1	Texas,	1	2
Louisiana,	14	2	Vermont,	1	1
Maine,	14	14	Virginia,	14	3
Maryland,	16	7	West Virginia,	6	8
Massachusetts,	5	1	Wisconsin,	16	7
Michigan,	1	21	Territories,	14	14
Minnesota,	9	1			
Mississippi,	1	4	Total,	351	284
Missouri,	20	1			

Following are the details of the ballots taken upon his nomination at Chicago, June 6, 1884, in the most convenient form for easy reference:

FIRST BALLOT.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. Votes	Arthur...	Blaine...	Edmunds	Logan...	Sherman	Hawley...	Lincoln..	W. T. Sherman
Alabama,	20	17	1	..	1	..	..	..	..
Arkansas,	14	4	..	2	..	..	..	..	..
California,	16	..	16	..	..	..	..	..	..
Colorado,	6	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
Connecticut,	12	..	..	..	..	..	12	..	..
Delaware,	6	1	5	..	..	..	..	..	..
Florida,	8	7	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Georgia,	24	24	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Illinois,	44	1	3	..	40	..	..	..	..
Indiana,	30	9	18	1	..	2	..	..	..
Iowa,	26	..	26	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kansas,	18	4	12	..	1	..	1	..	..
Kentucky,	26	16	5½	..	2½	1	..	1	..
Louisiana,	16	10	2	..	3	..	..	..	..
Maine,	12	..	12	..	..	..	..	..	..
Maryland,	16	6	10	..	..	..	..	..	..
Massachusetts,	28	2	1	25	..	..	..	..	..
Michigan,	26	2	15	7	..	..	..	..	2
Minnesota,	14	1	7	6	..	..	..	..	..
Mississippi,	18	17	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Missouri,	32	10	5	6	10	1	..	..	..
Nebraska,	10	2	8	..	..	..	..	..	..
Nevada,	6	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
New Hampshire,	8	4	..	4	..	..	..	..	..
New Jersey,	18	..	9	6	..	1	..	2	..
New York,	72	31	28	12	..	..	..	1	..
North Carolina,	22	19	2	..	1	..	..	..	..
Ohio,	46	..	21	..	..	25	..	..	..
Oregon,	6	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
Pennsylvania,	60	11	47	1	1	..	..	..	..
Rhode Island,	8	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	..
South Carolina,	18	17	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tennessee,	24	16	7	..	1	..	..	..	..
Texas,	26	11	13	..	2	..	..	..	..
Vermont,	8	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	..
Virginia,	24	21	2	..	1	..	..	..	..
West Virginia,	12	..	12	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wisconsin,	22	6	10	6	..	..	..	..	..
Arizona,	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dakota,	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
District of Columbia,	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Idaho,	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Montana,	2	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
New Mexico,	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Utah,	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Washington,	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wyoming,	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Totals,	820	278	334½	93	63½	30	13	4	2

Whole number of votes cast, 818.



CHESTER A. ARTHUR.



GEN. JOHN A. LOGAN.



GEORGE F. EDMUNDS.



JAMES G. BLAINE.

CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION.
Republican Convention, Chicago, 1884.

SECOND BALLOT.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. Votes	Arthur ..	Blaine....	Edmunds	Logan....	Sherman	Hawley..	Lincoln..	W. T. Sherman
Alabama,	20	17	2	..	1	..	..	..	..
Arkansas,	14	3	11	..	..	..	..	..	..
California,	16	..	16	..	..	..	..	..	..
Colorado,	6	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
Connecticut,	12	..	..	..	..	..	12	..	..
Delaware,	6	1	5	..	..	..	..	..	..
Florida,	8	7	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Georgia,	24	24	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Illinois,	44	1	3	..	40	..	..	..	..
Indiana,	30	9	18	1	..	2	..	..	..
Iowa,	26	..	26	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kansas,	18	2	13	..	2	..	1	..	..
Kentucky,	26	17	5	..	2	1	..	1	..
Louisiana,	16	9	4	..	2	..	..	..	..
Maine,	12	..	12	..	..	..	..	..	..
Maryland,	16	4	12	..	..	..	..	..	..
Massachusetts,	28	3	1	24	..	..	..	..	..
Michigan,	26	4	15	5	..	..	..	..	2
Minnesota,	14	1	7	6	..	..	..	..	..
Mississippi,	18	17	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Missouri,	32	10	7	5	8	1	..	..	..
Nebraska,	10	2	8	..	..	..	..	..	..
Nevada,	6	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
New Hampshire,	8	5	..	3	..	..	..	..	..
New Jersey,	18	..	9	6	1	2	..	..	..
New York,	72	31	28	12	..	..	1	..	..
North Carolina,	22	18	3	..	1	..	..	..	..
Ohio,	46	..	23	..	..	23	..	..	..
Oregon,	6	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
Pennsylvania,	60	11	47	1	1	..	..	..	..
Rhode Island,	8	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	..
South Carolina,	18	17	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tennessee,	24	16	7	..	1	..	..	..	..
Texas,	26	11	13	..	2	..	..	..	..
Vermont,	8	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	..
Virginia,	24	21	2	..	1	..	..	..	..
West Virginia,	12	..	12	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wisconsin,	22	6	11	5	..	..	..	..	..
Arizona,	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dakota,	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
District of Columbia,	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Idaho,	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Montana,	2	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
New Mexico,	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Utah,	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Washington,	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wyoming,	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total vote,	820	276	349	85	62	29	14	1	2

Whole number of votes cast, 818.

THIRD BALLOT.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. Votes	Arthur...	Blaine...	Edmunds	Logan...	Sherman	Hawley..	Lincoln...	W. T. Sherman
Alabama,	20	17	2	.	1	.	.	.	.
Arkansas,	14	3	11	.	.	.	.	.	.
California,	16	.	16	.	.	.	.	.	.
Colorado,	6	.	6	.	.	.	.	.	.
Connecticut,	12	.	.	.	.	.	12	.	.
Delaware,	6	1	5	.	.	.	.	.	.
Florida,	8	7	1	.	.	.	.	.	.
Georgia,	24	24	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Illinois,	44	1	3	.	40	.	.	.	.
Indiana,	30	10	18	.	.	2	.	.	.
Iowa,	26	.	26	.	.	.	.	.	.
Kansas,	18	.	15	.	2	.	1	.	.
Kentucky,	26	16	6	.	2	1	.	1	.
Louisiana,	16	9	4	.	2	.	.	.	.
Maine,	12	.	12	.	.	.	.	.	.
Maryland,	16	4	12	.	.	.	.	.	.
Massachusetts,	28	3	1	24	.	.	.	.	.
Michigan,	26	4	18	3	.	.	.	.	1
Minnesota,	14	2	7	5	.	.	.	.	.
Mississippi,	18	16	1	.	.	.	.	1	.
Missouri,	32	11	12	4	4	1	.	.	.
Nebraska,	10	.	10	.	.	.	.	.	.
Nevada,	6	.	6	.	.	.	.	.	.
New Hampshire,	8	5	.	3	.	.	.	.	.
New Jersey,	18	1	11	.	.	.	.	6	.
New York,	72	32	28	12	.	.	.	.	.
North Carolina,	22	18	4	.	.	.	.	.	.
Ohio,	46	.	25	.	.	21	.	.	.
Oregon,	6	.	6	.	.	.	.	.	.
Pennsylvania,	60	8	50	1	1	.	.	.	.
Rhode Island,	8	.	.	8	.	.	.	.	.
South Carolina,	18	16	2	.	.	.	.	.	.
Tennessee,	24	17	7	.	.	.	.	.	.
Texas,	26	11	14	.	1	.	.	.	.
Vermont,	8	.	.	8	.	.	.	.	.
Virginia,	24	20	4	.	.	.	.	.	.
West Virginia,	12	.	12	.	.	.	.	.	.
Wisconsin,	22	10	11	.	.	.	.	.	1
Arizona,	2	.	2	.	.	.	.	.	.
Dakota,	2	.	2	.	.	.	.	.	.
District of Columbia,	2	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	.
Idaho,	2	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	.
Montana,	2	.	1	1	.	.	.	.	.
New Mexico,	2	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Utah,	2	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Washington,	2	.	2	.	.	.	.	.	.
Wyoming,	2	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Totals,	820	274	375	69	53	25	13	8	2

Whole number of votes cast, 819.



ROBERT T. LINCOLN.



GEN. WILLIAM T. SHERMAN.



GEN. JOSEPH R. HAWLEY.



JOHN SHERMAN.

CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION.
Republican Convention, Chicago, 1884.

FOURTH BALLOT.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. Votes.	Arthur...	Blaine....	Edmunds	Logan....	Hawley..	Lincoln..
Alabama,	20	12	8	.	.	.	.
Arkansas,	14	3	11	.	.	.	.
California,	16	.	16	.	.	.	.
Colorado,	6	.	6	.	.	.	.
Connecticut,	12	.	.	.	.	12	.
Delaware,	6	1	5	.	.	.	.
Florida,	8	5	3	.	.	.	.
Georgia,	24	24	.	.	.	.	.
Illinois,	44	3	34	.	6	.	.
Indiana,	30	.	30	.	.	.	.
Iowa,	26	2	24	.	.	.	.
Kansas,	18	.	18	.	.	.	.
Kentucky,	26	15	9	.	1	.	1
Louisiana,	16	7	9	.	.	.	.
Maine,	12	.	12	.	.	.	.
Maryland,	16	1	15	.	.	.	.
Massachusetts,	28	7	3	18	.	.	.
Michigan,	26	.	26	.	.	.	.
Minnesota,	14	.	14	.	.	.	.
Mississippi,	18	16	2	.	.	.	.
Missouri,	32	.	32	.	.	.	.
Nebraska,	10	.	10	.	.	.	.
Nevada,	6	.	6	.	.	.	.
New Hampshire,	8	2	3	3	.	.	.
New Jersey,	18	.	17	1	.	.	.
New York,	72	30	29	9	.	2	1
North Carolina,	22	12	8	.	.	1	.
Ohio,	46	.	46	.	.	.	.
Oregon,	6	.	6	.	.	.	.
Pennsylvania,	60	8	51	1	.	.	.
Rhode Island,	8	1	7	.	.	.	.
South Carolina,	18	15	2	1	.	.	.
Tennessee,	24	12	11	.	.	.	.
Texas,	26	8	15	.	.	.	.
Vermont,	8	.	.	8	.	.	.
Virginia,	24	20	4	.	.	.	.
West Virginia,	12	.	12	.	.	.	.
Wisconsin,	22	.	22	.	.	.	.
Arizona,	2	.	2	.	.	.	.
Dakota,	2	.	2	.	.	.	.
District of Columbia,	2	1	1	.	.	.	.
Idaho,	2	.	2	.	.	.	.
Montana,	2	.	2	.	.	.	.
New Mexico,	2	2	.	.	.	.	.
Utah,	2	.	2	.	.	.	.
Washington,	2	.	2	.	.	.	.
Wyoming,	2	.	2	.	.	.	.
Total,	820	207	541	41	7	15	2

Whole number of votes cast, 813.

The nomination was promptly made unanimous amid great enthusiasm.

Thus have we faintly outlined Mr. Blaine from his youth up to his nomination for the highest earthly honor, glancing only at the salient points of his history until we get him fairly before the reader, and purposely reserving details for those more intimate interviews which are to follow.

CHAPTER III.

THE REPUBLICAN LEADER.

"A brave captain is as a root, out of which, as branches, the courage of his soldiers doth spring." SIDNEY.

"THAT leader of leaders, James G. Blaine," exclaimed Ingersoll, in 1876. It seemed a startling announcement then; but now every body acknowledges, and nearly every body appreciates, its appropriateness. He has been a leader of leaders from the moment he stepped out as the vanguard of the Republican party, more than ten years ago, and it is a position he will not be apt to surrender soon; at least, such is the public hope. The people understand what his leadership means. They know that it means, when the necessary power is secured, justice to every human being under the American flag, to be asserted peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must.

It means due protection to every American interest, whether agricultural, commercial, mechanical, social, or legal; not for revenue only, but for the commonwealth.

It means national preservation, let the cost be what it may; and arrays itself in opposition to such "entertainments" as have recently been popular in Copiah County, Mississippi.

It means the policy of Garfield, revived and animated by the combativeness and vim of Blaine.

What could be more comprehensive and desirable?

But the reader will say that the policy of Garfield was the Blaine policy from the beginning. Steady, good friend! It was the Blaine policy *expressis verbis*, but not always in action. To be, is one thing; to act, another. Shakspeare declares that "strong reasons make strong actions;" but there are too many exceptions for mere proof of the rule. Had he lived, Garfield would have given us an administration with plenty of himself and a goodly sprinkling of Blaine in it, and therefore such an administration as it would be difficult to improve upon; but circumstances have changed since Garfield's decease. There was never more positive need of a strong government in the United States than at the present time. If the object of fighting the South in the late civil war was the preservation of the Union in its original integrity, it failed of some portion of its attempt, and therefore a good part of the point must be gained under the reign of peace. But it must be a strong reign, by a hand that can not falter in the right, guided by a cool and determined head.

It must protect the ballot, wherever it is and by whoever cast—whether it is a Republican ballot, a Democratic ballot, or a ballot under some other name. Whatever the ballot is, if legally cast, it must be made free to every free-man, without regard to partisanship, color, or previous condition; whether it is cast at the North or the South, the East or the West. This is not only Republican doctrine under the truest and brightest light of Republicanism, but American doctrine under the most ordinary construction of Republican rights and privileges. The Republican party is the only organization, however, that honestly attempts to

sustain and defend it; and unless it is so sustained and defended, it will cease to be, and the party will cease to be at the same juncture.

It is believed that the Republican party has still a long lease of life, and that its mission has only just begun. For twenty-five years its history has been filled with brilliant achievements, and during this period its annals contain, substantially, the history of the country. In the early years of its existence it sowed some dragon's teeth, at which a few of its weak members were affrighted; but when they sprang up armed men, as at ancient Thebes, and fought the illustrious battle of freedom in triumph, the down-trodden of all the world greeted the party as a new Emmanuel, and prayed that its good right arm might be extended for them day and night until the emancipation of man became universal. It was the party of freemen, in the noblest sense of the designation. And what does this imply? The essence of all religion that was and that will be, says Carlyle, is to make men free. Who is it that in this life-pilgrimage will consecrate himself, at all hazards, to obey the higher law and its servants, and to disobey the devil and his? With pious valor this free man walks through the roaring tumults invincibly, the way whither he is bound. To him in the waste Saharas, through the grim solitudes peopled by galvanized corpses and doleful creatures of rebellion, there is a lode-star; and his path, whatever that of others be, is towards the Eternal. Such a man is well worth consulting, well worth taking the vote about matters temporal; in fact, the only kind of man worth considering in an age of great deeds.

Such a man was Lincoln; such was Garfield; and, "in full and rounded measure," such is Blaine. To the calm judgment of Lincoln and the stern honesty of Garfield, he adds an intelligence which is illuminated by the effulgence of reason, and this he reflects upon all surroundings in life and deed. And he has courage sufficient for any emergency; not that courage which consists in blindly overlooking danger, but in confronting it face to face, and conquering it at all risks. He dares do "all that may become a man," but he does not believe in sneezing every time a foreign potentate takes snuff! He has been called the Henry Clay of his party, and this is a title of peculiar honor; but he is in a striking degree a combination of Clay, Webster, and Seward. To the brilliancy of the first he adds the prescience of the second and the liberality of the third, and he crowns all with something still nobler—true Christian manhood. From the ranks has he fought his way up to the exalted position of leadership. To him the contest has been what the Italian campaigns were to Napoleon—the foundation of, and preparation for, his eventual supremacy. The enemies of the government look upon the impending election with the expectation that it will decide whether the Union is to be preserved complete and impregnable, or whether it is to be surrendered to the dominion of the solid South; and under this view of the situation no one should be surprised at their objections to the candidacy of Blaine. He is at least as strong as that abstract Democracy whose platform is simply an invoice of negatives, and whose great idol of free trade seems to have "fallen with its face to the ground," like Dagon in the house of the Philistines; and the foot-

prints of the pilgrims to its altar are all reversed, as if in hasty flight.

This is the book of the generation of free trade in the United States: The South disliked the North in the days of slavery, and was jealous of the prosperity of our manufacturers. For the purpose of getting even with these manufacturers, and at the same time adding some strength to the tenure of the "patriarchal institution," they opposed a tariff for protection, in the hope that they would be enabled to bring our labor into close competition with that of Europe, which would reduce our toilers to the condition of serfs; and then the Northern States would become the home of slavery as abject as that under the black "institution" in the sunny clime. But since slavery in the South has been abolished, manufactures have sprung into existence there, and the natural resources of that section are bringing opulence to free labor. In those localities where the best progress has been made, the friends of a protective tariff are increasing rapidly, and the day may not be very far distant when the Southland will send up a plea for protection to her industries, quite as eloquent, fully as logical, and doubtless in every point as convincing, as was ever any similar petition from New England or Pennsylvania. Free trade in the United States is the enemy of free labor. It tends to rob enterprise of its spirit and vigor; to a declaration of dependence upon Great Britain. We are not just ready to go under the colonial yoke again, and it is to be hoped we will be slow in getting ready.

Mr. Blaine feels less interest in the inhabitants of foreign countries than in our own people. This is one reason why

he believes in protection to home industry. He is strong in the view that our own markets should be first enjoyed by *our* manufacturers, farmers, and merchants, who pay taxes to sustain the institutions which protect them; and then, if there is a demand for the products of the foreigner, let him come and sell under such regulations as subject him to a due proportion of the tax. What is more reasonable than an arrangement like this? It is not desirable, we presume, to tax our citizens for something we would grant free to aliens. He believes we are a Nation, as contradistinguished from a confederation, and entitled to rank with the great nations of the earth. A few individuals profess to believe that there is danger in this sentiment, and that its assertion will embroil us with foreign powers. Whether dangerous or not, he would be a poor apology for an American who would not assert and maintain it against all comers. He would lack manly dignity and forfeit every claim to respect. Besides all this, Mr. Blaine is opposed to permitting foreign governments to gain any additional foot-hold upon this continent. He prefers to have them keep their enterprises, their little schemes of empire, and their pauper labor away from our shores; but if they have any good, industrious, honest laborers to spare, he is ready to promise them cheap lands for homes, or steady work at fair wages in mechanical or agricultural employment. We fail to discover any thing to criticise in views like these. If the foreigner encroaches upon our heritage, and attempts to possess any part of it, he should be smitten hip and thigh, as Samson smote the Philistines; and it would be a poor specimen of American patriot who would not join in the disturbance.

There are no apologies to make for Mr. Blaine. He stands at the head of the party of the Nation; the party of the People; the party of Progress; of Enlightenment; of Civil and Religious Liberty; of Equal Rights to all who claim the protection of the American flag; and if any one ever proved his title clear to the leadership of such a party, James G. Blaine is the man. He is the man of the Nation, of the People, of Progress, and of all those masterly qualities which recommend his party to the public regard. He commands the respect and veneration of every true Republican in the same degree that Henry Clay excited these sentiments in the breast of every true Whig, by the magnetism of his great, sympathetic heart, which beats in unison with the patriotic impulses of his powerful brain. He is not only a representative Republican, but a representative American; not only a representative statesman, but a representative Man. Nobody with native sense has the least idea of calling him the candidate of "availability." He was nominated by the people months before the Chicago convention assembled. That convention did little more than ratify the people's choice, and make a platform which responds to the people's faith. And now that he is to be our President, let his own words declare the sentiments which animate his patriotism and dictate his statesmanship upon those questions in which he is supposed to feel the strongest interest. We quote the concluding lines of the first volume of his "Twenty Years in Congress:"

"This brief history of the spirit rather than the events which characterized the foreign relations of the United States during the civil war, has been undertaken with no

desire to revive the feelings of burning indignation which they provoked, or to prolong the discussion of the angry questions to which they gave rise. *The relations of nations are not and should not be governed by sentiment.* The interest and ambition of States, like those of men, will disturb the moral sense and incline to one side or the other the strict balance of impartial justice. New days bring new issues, and old passions are unsafe counselors. Twenty years have gone by. England has paid the cost of her mistake. The Republic of Mexico has seen the fame and the fortunes of the emperors who sought her conquest sink suddenly—as into the pits which they themselves had digged for their victims—and the Republic of the United States has come out of her long and bitter struggle so strong that never again will she afford the temptation or the opportunity of unfriendly governments to strike at her National life. Let the past be the past, but let it be the past with all the instruction and the warning of its experience.

“The future safety of these continents rests upon the strength and maintenance of the Union, for had dissolution been possible, events have shown with what small regard the interests or the honor of either of the belligerents would have been treated. It has been taught to the smaller republics that if this strength be shattered, they will be the spoil of foreign arms and the dependent provinces again of foreign monarchs. When this contest was over, the day of immaturity had past, and the United States stood before the world a great and permanent Power. That Power can afford to bury all resentments. Tranquil at home, developing its inexhaustible resources with a rapidity and suc-

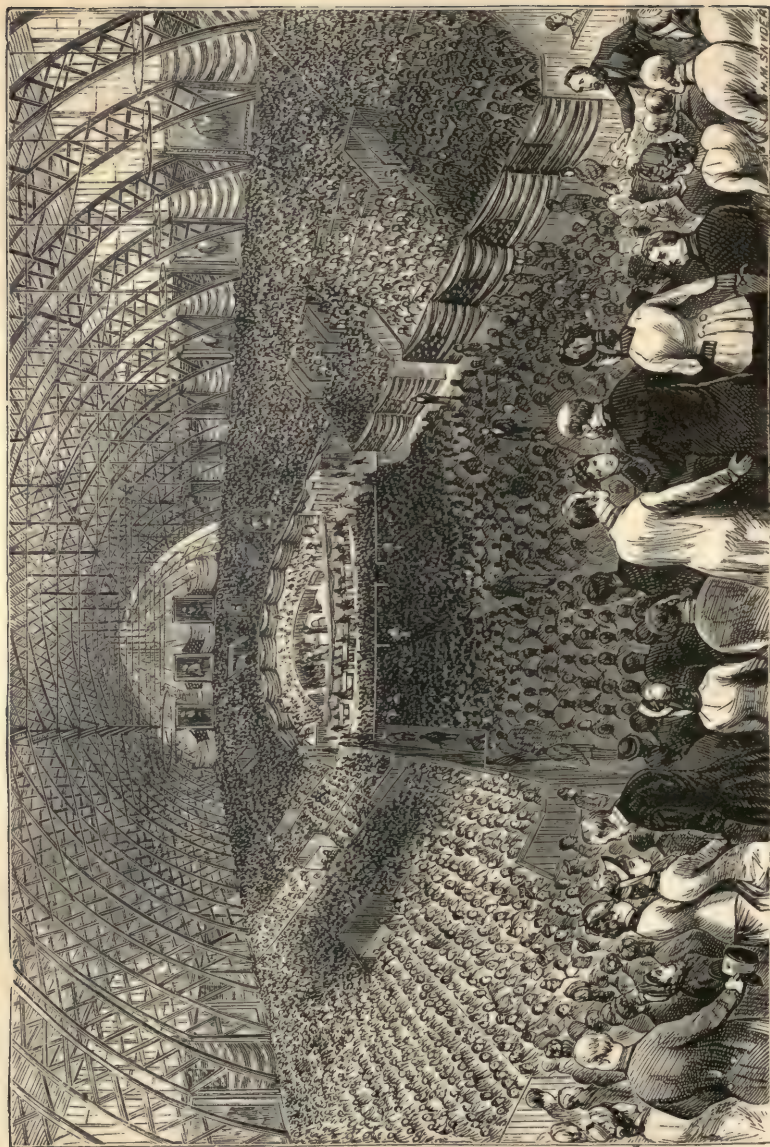
cess unknown in history, bound in sincere friendship, and beyond the possibility of hostile rivalry with the other republics of the continents, standing midway between Asia and Europe, a power on the Pacific as well as on the Atlantic, with no temptation to intermeddle in the questions which disturb the Old World, the Republic of the United States desires to live in amicable relation with all peoples, demanding only the abstinence of foreign intervention in the development of that policy which her political creed, her territorial extent, and the close and cordial neighborhood of kindred governments, have made the essential rule of her national life."

So long as other nations behave themselves, we propose to treat them right; when they misbehave, they may expect us to chastise them—more in sorrow than in anger, perhaps, but in a way they will not forget.

A few Republicans have conceived the idea that this is to be a defensive campaign, and they are fortifying accordingly. But they may as well come out of the entrenchments at once, and drive the foe from the field. There is nothing to defend in either candidate or platform, but probably something to gain by a prompt assault upon the opposing ranks. Democrats have no fresh powder to burn in their attacks upon Blaine, and all the old campaign bombs were exploded long ago, without hurting any one but their compounders. While we are referring to this part of the subject, however, a voluntary tribute from Mr. Blaine's former pastor, who knew him intimately for ten years (1872-82), may be submitted to the reader. His name is J. H. Ecob, and he resides now at Albany, New York. Following are his words:

• “I have been very near to Mr. Blaine, not only in the most trying political crises, but in the sharper trial of great grief in the household, and have never yet detected a false note. I would not be understood as avowing too much for human nature, but I mean that as I have known him he has stood loyally by his convictions; that his word has always had back of it a clean purpose, and that purpose has always been worthy of the highest manhood. In his house he was always the soul of geniality and good heart; there was always summer in that house, whatever the Maine winter might be without, and not only his rich neighbors and kinsmen welcomed him home, but a long line of the poor hailed the return of that family as a special providence. In the Church he is honored and beloved. The good old New England custom of Church-going, with all the guests, is enforced strictly in the Blaine household. Whoever is under his roof, from the President down, is expected to be with the family at Church. Fair weather or foul, those pews were always well filled. Not only his presence, but his influence, his wise counsels, and his purse are freely devoted to the interests of the noble old South Church of Augusta. The hold which Mr. Blaine has maintained upon the hearts of such great numbers of his countrymen, is not sufficiently explained by brilliant gifts or magnetism; the secret lies in his generous, manly, Christian character. Those who have known him best are not surprised that his friends all over the country have been determined that he should secure the highest honor within their gift. It is because they believe in him. The office has sought the man, the political papers to the contrary notwithstanding.”





THE CHICAGO CONVENTION—NOMINATING THE "PLUMED KNIGHT" FOR THE PRESIDENCY.

CHAPTER IV.

THE REPUBLICAN NOMINATIONS.

“The nobly born are not the only noble;
There is a line more royal, more majestic,
Than is the sceptred line of mighty crowns;
An ancestry so bright with glorious names
That he who truly feels himself akin to such,
May stand before the throne, noble
Amidst the noblest, kingly amid kings.
He that inherits Honor, Virtue, Truth,
Springs from a lineage next to the divine,
For these were heirs of God; and we, their heirs,
Prove nearest God when we stand next to them.
Man heir to these is rich, and wealth may bow
To greatness it can cherish, not create.”

SWAIN.

THE CONVENTION.

THE Eighth National Convention of the Republican party assembled at Chicago on Tuesday, 3d June, 1884. Its place of assemblage was the large hall of the beautiful Exposition Building, which is of extraordinary dimensions and admirably adapted to such a meeting. Some of the most graphic writers upon the press of Chicago supply us the subjoined description of the hall and the scenes of opening.

“The elliptical area of the hall in which the delegates assembled, the lofty walls and the rising of the tiers of seats resemble somewhat the ancient Coliseum in the days of its glory; but in another respect it was like the Flavian reser-

voir on which the great amphitheater was built. It was a reservoir yesterday, and then a modern Coliseum. It was a reservoir into which there began to trickle through little leaks, as it were, from the great human flood that surged outside. The leaks grew into rivulets, and these into streams and torrents as the swollen waters of a river first push rills through the levees, and then, growing in dimensions, carry all before them.

“And then the reservoir became a Coliseum. The human tides flowed in till all the spaces were black with people. These people covered the level floor; they surged up and occupied the elevated seats; they swarmed far up into the high galleries, and even thronged what seemed like little dove cotes above the eaves beneath the roof. By and by the surge of the tides ceased, and there was peace.

“The interior of the hall is imposing as to dimensions, fairly good as to proportions, variegated as to color, and in-artistic as to effects. There are the blue of the rafters and the ceiling of the roof; the dull red of the arches; the brown of the barricades; and staring prominently from everywhere the red, white, and blue of flag, shield, and banner. There is no blending of the various dyes with which the interior is decorated. Moral harmony amidst such intrusive accessories will be heroic.

“In time, after the citizens had taken their places, the doors of the arena opened wide, and the gladiators marched in. They were shimmering with decorations, which were resplendent with all the colors of Iris. The crowd recognized its favorites, and gave them plaudits as did the Romans their renowned athletes. The first who attracted attention, and

who got a hand from the spectators, was a short, slender man in black, who jauntily swung a soft felt hat in his hands as he tripped along. His hair is down to his shoulders, his face open and smiling, his shirt-front expansive beyond the requirements of the temperature or the fashion. He is the ogre of Democratic Virginia—Mahone. He is so light, airy, insouciant, so delicate as to waist and slender as to foot and hand that no stranger would recognize in him the famous leader of the cohorts of readjustment. There were others who were recognized, but the fates were hostile to an entry full of dignity and in which the heroes were individually conspicuous. The procession was hustled in. There was no opportunity for a loftiness of carriage or dignity of personal bearing. All of these were lost in the jam. The contingent from the Empire State was intensely respectable as to appearance, noted men all of them, but were so thrust about and intertwisted that they were scarcely to be recognized as differing from the delegates from a Territory or the Far-West States. In time all had ranged themselves beneath the banners of their respective States, and the convention of 1884 was called to order.

“Whether afflicted by the inharmonious colors, or the east wind, or the profundity of their own reflections, the auditory did not seem inspired. Possibly the formalities of the opening were too commonplace for them, too dull to excite their interest. The great masses beyond the lobbies had little to say. They evidently were waiting for the real battle to begin. They understood nothing of the preliminary disposition of troops, and did not comprehend that the outcome of a combat may often be settled before a blow is

struck. Clayton and Lynch did not interest them. They did not suspect that there was maneuvering for position.

“But there was a lobby that seemed to possess vitality and lungs. When a delegate voted for Lynch the lobby was exhilarated; when somebody else announced that he cast his ballot for Clayton, the lobby was jubilant. Taking Lynch as the keynote, there was a pæan of triumph; starting at the sounding of the pitch of Clayton, a massive chorus took up the theme, and roared it till the blue rafters thrilled with the clamor.

“There was a noticeable level, a dead sort of a plane of faces with nothing to distinguish one of them from another. The display seen from the front was that of a floor paved with heads. One could see no bodies, no hair, only the up-turned faces, creating the grotesque impression that the level was covered with dissevered heads. From out these there occasionally shot up a noticeable figure. George W. Curtis, of New York, reared himself to the height of a chair, as a tribune from which to speak. Then there came into view a man of medium stature, square as to back and shoulders, gray, bushy side-whiskers, smooth upper lip, a face as if of wrinkled parchment, and features suggestive of a combination of the lineaments of Wendell Phillips and William H. Seward. His gray-white hair is worn short behind his ears, and nicely banged and parted in the middle on his forehead. He speaks not ungracefully, with great self-possession, and in a voice which has some of the *tremolo* which comes from overuse.

“Another figure that came into view for a brief second was that of a substantial delegate, who rose, said “Lynch,”

and seated himself in a flash. The face and head are massive, filled out by a full beard and unimpaired headgear of nature's own make. The face is calm, modest, self-reliant, and indicative in its composure of limitless reserves of strength. Such is the pilot, Robert Smalls, of South Carolina, whose gallant achievements during the war have given him a world-wide renown.

"Out of the mass rose, betimes, Illinois's old citizen, William Pitt Kellogg. He has grown gray; his organs of ideality and veneration are denuded of their hirsute covering, and in all he resembles the grandfather of himself as in the troublous days of reconstruction his prow entered the political waters of Louisiana. Pinchback, tall, stately, and swart, responded to the imperative conjuration of Lynch or Clayton. General Carr, of Illinois, rotund, huge-voiced, genially bald, and mustached, came up from the mass of heads, and was cheered for his effort. Taft, of South Carolina, rose up and held the audience for a brief minute with an impassioned utterance. Young Roosevelt, of New York, stood for a moment on a chair, and one saw a young man of less than medium size, with eye-glasses, reddish as to hair and complexion, determined in the cut of features, awkward but forcible as to speech and gesture, and who received a round of applause for his appearance. Horr, of Michigan, small, spectacled, white of hair, a purplish-gray of face, smooth-shaven, gentle and deprecatory as to voice and manner, made himself heard for a moment, and obtained a cheer for his effort. When he voted he was rapturously applauded by his admirers, and seated himself as if he were satisfied that all were serene.

“W. Walter Phelps, of New Jersey, said ‘Clayton,’ when he was called on for an opinion and a vote. He is small, intelligent in expression, quick in motion, and retiring in appearance. He was greeted with a substantial cheer as he took his seat. When Mahone rose to his feet and responded ‘Lynch,’ there appeared to be born a great joy among some of the spectators and delegates. Many rose to their feet and threw up their hats and cheered again and again, as if the millennium had now truly come, and the dapper little gentleman were the one who had brought it. He bore his honors well, and smiled, bowed, and waved his thanks as gracefully as if he were Irving himself responding to a final call before the curtain on the last night of a successful engagement. Flanagan, of Texas, was duly recognized, and so was the voting for Clayton by some of the colored delegates from Mr. Flanagan’s State.

“Lynch is a small man, about as dark as a Frenchman, and lighter than a Spaniard. He has square shoulders, an oval face, a good forehead, large, dark, handsome eyes, a coal-black mustache and chin whiskers. He has a clear voice which reaches well out through the vast audience. He gestures little, speaks without hesitation, and it may be said to his credit and that of his race, that, as an orator, he ranks below no man who at the first day’s session addressed the convention.”

The following pencil sketch of the scenes at the opening is furnished by another Chicago journalist:

“The crowd that filled the house numbered between six thousand and seven thousand persons, about seven hundred being females. It was sad to see the number of unoccupied

seats in the lower end of the building, and remember the crowds of people outside who would have made almost any kind of a sacrifice for them. The only people in the vast throng who were not alert were the delegates. They came straggling along in all sorts of order, some alone and some in squads of six and eight. The New York men came in *en masse*, and were handsome and fair to look upon. They were all fine-looking fellows, well dressed, and polished, and almost every man was shod in new, French calf, low-cut shoes. They carried themselves like so many Stalwarts, and their very bearing was Oriental. As a rule, they were serious, taciturn, and the far-away look in some of their eyes did not portend the greatest assurance of success. The leader was Mr. George William Curtis, with his handsome white whiskers and blue-edged handkerchief, daintily perfumed with sweet-pea. He had on his arm Theodore Roosevelt, who bowed right and left to delegates and newspaper men.

“The Georgia delegates were modest and so shy that they came in softly, sat down quietly, folded their hands, and looked as demure as though preparing for some religious exercise of a solemn character.

“Three black-eyed, broad-shouldered Missourians came next, and by the time they had found comfortable quarters all the Ohio men appeared, some with toothpicks, some with rolls of papers, and not a few gloved, and as trim and spruce as so many cadets. The Nevada men were as bald as some of their own mountain-tops; the California folks looked well-fed and well-to-do; the Connecticut men were nearly all dyspeptics; the Arizonians all strange; while the familiarity of the Iowa men was equally remarkable.

"Any one could tell that the Virginia fellows had been in some kind of mischief the night before, for they came in with eyes downcast and saw nobody till they were seated.

"The Illinois folk did not arrive till after twelve o'clock. They looked plump and rosy, and as one of the men had a bit of strawberry shortcake on his chin, it was the inference that they had lunched first.

"Senator Mahone with a fan in his hand, his lip in his mouth, and a buttercup in his lapel, lead the van. This delegation moved the house to plaudits, which the senator acknowledged with a low bow and gracious smile.

"The Rhode Islanders, almost as small as their State, came in behind the Massachusetts people, and about that time Governor Oglesby, white, smiling, and serene, came in through the press door and went upon the stage, where he was seated in the front row.

"Miss Phoebe Couzins led the way for her distinguished-looking father, who was trying very hard to see somebody over his left shoulder.

"As the musicians in Hand's orchestra struck up a march there was a general turning of heads, and really the rudeness was pardonable, for the picture was magnificent. There was a perfect sea of faces; faces belonging to beautiful women and intellectual men; the house was flooded with light; gay little fans swayed to and fro wafting the perfume from a thousand fragrant flowers that ornamented corsage and lapel.

"There were no women on the main floor, which was reserved for the delegates. There were two noticeable fea-

tures about this great body of men; they were all as quiet and as bald as so many babies. The boxes on either side of the house were reserved for guests. The most distinguished ones, however, had been assigned to chairs back of the stage.

"There was a little storm of excitement among the leaders when Senator Sabin appeared on the platform and began to rearrange the floral design that some one had placed on the chairman's table. The fair creatures mistook him for Senator Logan, and his heavy black mustache, pale face, and bright eyes became the topic of conversation. A search was then made for Mrs. Logan, who was not found.

"The entrance of Powell Clayton was a signal for applause. He wore a glossy, well-fitting coat, and his empty sleeve won the hearts of the women instantly. His face was almost as pale as his white mustache and heavy goatee.

"The female portion of the audience was restless long before the chairman was elected, and doubtless many were disappointed. One young woman wanted to see "the dark horse." Another nearly blinded herself with a poor opera-glass looking for Blaine. She had found, as she thought, Arthur, Conkling, and Mayor Harrison, and, although she carried a photograph of the ex-Secretary of State, had failed in finding the original up to two o'clock.

"A box full of ladies 'got hungry as bears,' although they had been masticating caramels and chocolate creams for an hour or more. They agreed to draw lots to see who should go out for some sandwiches. The politician of the group lost, and, collecting some forty cents, went off 'to

the Crawford for some nice tongue sandwiches,' but, like the Three Fishermen, she never came back any more.

"Girls with tally-sheets and gold pencils grew weary of waiting, and some of them nibbled off the corners of the pasteboard for want of something better. The inconsistency of woman was shown in the galleries, where ladies for Blaine wore Arthur badges, because, as one said, 'They were so sweet, and would do for patch-work.'

"When at last the roll-call was over and John R. Lynch, of Mississippi, was declared elected chairman of the Republican Convention they clapped their little gloves together and prepared to be interested, but great was the dismay in the west boxes when he was found to be 'not white.'

"Mr. Lynch is a slender man of the average height, with narrow shoulders, long head, and high forehead. Besides being an easy, graceful, and terse speaker, he is a man of fine executive ability, intolerant of the slightest disorder, but with all his decisiveness and persistency he is amiable, firm, and patient. That Senator Clayton felt his defeat keenly was evident, for as he passed the writer, escorting Lynch to the chair, his face was deathly pale, his hand trembled, and the tremor in his lip was perceptible from beneath his heavy mustache. As he returned from the rostrum after the address of Lynch he was greeted by scores of friends. Governor Oglesby and ex-Governor Beveridge reached over the stage gallery to shake hands with him, and even Norman Williams patted him on the back, and told him to be of good cheer."

At twenty-five minutes past twelve, noon, Senator Dwight M. Sabin, of Minnesota, chairman of the National

Republican Committee, rapped with his gavel upon the desk from which the nomination of James A. Garfield was announced four years ago. When comparative quiet was gained, he addressed the assemblage as follows:

“Gentlemen of the Eighth Republican National Convention: The hour having arrived appointed for the meeting of this convention it will now be opened with prayer by the Rev. Mr. Bristol.”

At the conclusion of the prayer, Secretary Martin, of the National Committee, read the formal call for the Convention. Then Chairman Sabin addressed the delegates in the following eloquent words:

“Gentlemen of the Convention: On behalf of the National Republican Committee permit me to welcome you to Chicago. As chairman of that committee, it is both my duty and pleasure to call you to order as a National Republican Convention. This city, already known as the City of Conventions, is amongst the most cherished of all the spots of our country, sacred to the memories of a Republican. It is the birthplace of Republican victory. On these fields of labor gathered the early fathers of our political faith and planned the great battle for the preservation of the Union. [Applause.] Here they chose that immortal chief that led us on to victory—Abraham Lincoln. [Cheers.] Here were gathered in council those gifted men who secured the fruits of that long struggle by elevating to the first place in the Nation the foremost chieftain of that great contest—General Grant. [Cheers.] Here was afterwards witnessed that signal triumph which anticipated the wish of the Nation by nominating as color-bearer of the party that honored

soldier, that shining citizen, that representative American, James A. Garfield. [Long continued cheers.] Every deliberation of Republican forces on this historic ground has been followed by signal success. [Applause.] And every contest planned on this spot has carried forward our line of battle until to-day our banners overlook every position of the enemy.

“Indeed, so secure now is the integrity of the Union, so firmly embodied in the Constitution and laws of the land are the safeguards of individual liberty, so fairly and fully achieved is the past, that by general consent the time has now arrived for new dispositions of the party forces in contemplation of new lines of operation.

“Having compassed the defeat of our opponents on all former occasions, the party is about to set its house in order and take counsel as to the direction and management of its future course. In the comparative lull of party strife which distinguishes the present condition of National politics, there is observable an increasing disposition to look after the men who are to execute and the methods that are to guide them in the execution of the powers committed to them for the management of the affairs of the Republic.

“As the result of a rule adopted in the last National Convention this convention finds itself constituted by a large majority of gentlemen who have been clothed with delegated powers by conventions in their several congressional districts. On this consideration may be grounded a hope that the voice of the people [applause] will, beyond recent precedent, be felt in molding the work you are summoned to perform, so that its results may be such as to win the unhesitating

and undeviating support of every lover of those principles by which the party has heretofore triumphed and yet will triumph. [Applause.]

“When we consider the memories of the past, so intimately connected with this city, and even with this edifice, which the people of Chicago have so generously placed at your disposal, when we reflect upon the deep-seated concern among all people in the result of your deliberations, and the various incentives to the abandonment of personal ambitions in the interest of the party welfare, you can not wonder that the committee, and beyond it the great Republican masses, extend you a most hearty welcome to this scene of labor, in the confident hope that your efforts will result in such an exposition of Republican doctrine and disclose such a just appreciation of Republican men in the choice of your nominees as to rejoice the hearts of your constituents and keep victory on the side of our ever victorious banners.” [Applause.]

There was a spirited contest over the election of temporary chairman of the convention. Chairman Sabin proposed as the nominee of the National Committee, Hon. Powell Clayton, of Arkansas. Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, placed in nomination Hon. John R. Lynch, of Mississippi. This was in contravention of the precedents of forty-four years, during all of which time it has been the custom for the National Committee to name the temporary chairman of conventions. It led to extended debate, which was characterized by considerable eloquence, but no exhibitions of bad temper. Upon a call of the roll it was found that of eight hundred and eighteen votes cast, Hon. John R.

Lynch received four hundred and thirty-one; Hon. Powell Clayton three hundred and eighty-seven.

THE CHAIRMAN.—Mr. John R. Lynch having received a majority of the votes of this convention is declared the nominee.

GEN. CLAYTON.—Mr. Chairman, I move to make the election of Mr. Lynch unanimous.

The motion was carried.

THE CHAIRMAN.—John R. Lynch is declared the temporary chairman of this convention. The chair will appoint as a committee to escort Mr. Lynch to the platform Gen. Powell Clayton, of Arkansas, Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, and Mr. Taft, of South Carolina. The gentlemen will please wait upon Mr. Lynch to the platform.

The committee escorted Mr. Lynch to the platform amid great applause.

THE CHAIRMAN.—Gentlemen of the convention, I have the honor and the great pleasure to present to you as temporary chairman of this convention the Hon. John R. Lynch, of Mississippi. [Applause.]

Mr. Lynch on assuming the chair addressed the convention as follows :

"Gentlemen of the Convention : I feel that I ought not to say that I thank you for the distinguished honor which you have conferred upon me, for I do not. Nevertheless, from a standpoint that no patriot should fail to respond to his country's call, and that no loyal member of his party should fail to comply with the demands of his party, I yield with reluctance to your decision, and assume the duties of the position to which you have assigned me. [Applause.]

Every member of this convention who approached me upon this subject within the last few hours knows that this position was neither expected nor desired by me. If, therefore, there is any such thing as a man having honors thrust upon him, you have an exemplification of it in this instance. [Applause.]

“I wish to say, gentlemen, that I came to this convention not so much for the purpose of securing the defeat of any man or the success of any man, but for the purpose of contributing to the extent of my vote and my influence to make Republican success in November next an assured fact. [Applause.] I hope and believe that the assembled wisdom of the Republican party of this Nation, through its chosen representatives in this hall, will so shape our policy and will present such candidates before the American people as will make that victory beyond the shadow of a doubt. [Applause.]

“I wish to say, so far as the different candidates for the presidential nomination are concerned, that I do not wish any gentleman to feel that my election by your votes is indicative of any thing relative to the preference of one candidate over another. [Applause.] I am prepared, and I hope that every member of this convention is prepared, to return to his home with an unmistakable determination to give the candidates of this convention a loyal and hearty support, whoever they may be. [Applause.] Gentlemen of the convention, I am satisfied in my own mind that when we go before the people of this country our action will be ratified, because the great heart of the American people will never consent for any political party to gain the

ascendency in this government whose chief reliance for that support is a fraudulent ballot and violence at the polls. [Applause.] I am satisfied that the people of this country are too loyal ever to allow a man to be inaugurated President of the United States whose title to the position may be brought forth in fraud and whose garments may be saturated with the innocent blood of hundreds of his countrymen. [Applause and cheers.] I am satisfied that the American people will ratify our action, because they will never consent to a revenue system in this government otherwise than that which will not only raise the necessary revenue for its support, but will also be sufficient to protect every American citizen in this country. [Applause.]

“Gentlemen, not for myself, but perhaps in obedience to custom, I thank you for the honor you have conferred upon me.” [Applause.]

The further proceedings of the first day's session were wholly routine, consisting of the appointment of honorary officers, the arrangement of the various committees, discussion of rules and the introduction of some unimportant resolutions. By some friends of other candidates, the election of Lynch to the temporary chairmanship was construed as inimical to Blaine, but it had no such significance, as the subsequent proceedings proved. Unless considered discourteous to the National Committee, the selection was probably as good as could have been made.

CHAPTER V.

THE REPUBLICAN NOMINATIONS.

"If I am asked who is the greatest man, I answer the best; and if I am required to say who is the best, I reply, he that has deserved most of his fellow-creatures."

SIR WILLIAM JONES.

THE CONVENTION—CONTINUED.

A CORRESPONDENT kindly furnishes the following general view of the second day's proceedings:

"There was something in the atmosphere of the hall at the beginning of the second day's session quite different from that of the opening day. There was a suggestion of eagerness and expectancy in the faces of all. The audience was charged as if with a sort of moral or mental electricity. The contact of negative and positive points was incessant, and gave out sparks which, while not always seen were felt. There was a charged battery, of which the delegates were the chemical components, which made its currents felt, now in tingling anticipation, now in shocks which permeated the entire audience. As if in expectation of something unusual there had been some more flags added, with the result to still more confuse the eye with multifarious hues, and to add still more incompatible details to the inharmonious whole.

"There were more ladies in the boxes, the galleries, and on the sloping stage. There was a gorgeous bouquet on the

chairman's desk, one both fragrant and sightly, and by the side of which the complexion of the swarthy occupant became imbued with a yellow tinge. The opening prayer was quite as eloquent as the day before, although not so clear an exposition of the political situation. The crowd around the press-table was, as before, three reporters to each seat, with one-third of the seats vacant, and held for some one who did not come.

"The usual cargo of resolutions arrived, and its character was duly announced in detail by the patient chairman and partly listened to by the impatient audience. An amendment to the Constitution of the United States seems to be in the nature of a catholicon for all evils, or at least is so regarded by innumerable people. By and by there came a resolution which, unlike all its predecessors, attracted some attention. Mr. Hawkins, of Tennessee, was the gentleman who secured the first general hearing for a resolution. It was the same as that of Conkling four years ago, pledging the delegates to support the nominations. Hawkins is rather a fine-looking man. Tall, with a long, flowing, light-brown beard; well-formed, and broad of chest, clad in a tight-fitting black frock-coat, as is ever the fashion in the South, he presented a rather imposing appearance, as he stood upon a chair and argued his resolution.

"Mr. Knight, of California, favored the resolution in a vehement address. He was effective as a speaker; he is broad, solid, with a good head, a brown mustache above gleaming teeth, and a voice full of feeling, and far-reaching. Conspicuous from his size and the intensity of his utterances, he secured silence and universal attention. When

with long, swinging gestures he hurled a defiance at the "editors of newspapers," or "great weekly periodicals," there was the first electric shock poured through the audience, and all eyes were at once turned on the seats of the New York delegation. Curtis was on his feet at this allusion, and for the first time seemed to have lost his profound indifference. His gray eyes were flashing angrily, his fingers were clinching in his palm and opening nervously, and he presented the appearance of an enraged tiger-cat about to spring on some intruder. When the gentleman from California had finished, the editor of a "great weekly periodical" gained the altitude of the seat of his chair and turned his back to the audience so as to face the delegates. He was evidently a trifle angry; his voice was deep and hoarse, the expression on his face intense, and the light in his eyes was a blue, steely incandescence. He spoke at his best. The intensity of his feelings was transferred to his words, and the effect was like a series of electric shocks. When he sat down the roof echoed again and again the roars of his admirers.

"There is something kaleidoscopic about Curtis. The day before, his face seemed made up of features taken from Wendell Phillips and William H. Seward. Yesterday he had lost these, and one could readily detect in his countenance a mixture of Gladstone and James Russell Lowell. Does he shadow forth these men according to the mood in which he happens to be? It may even be possible that in the eyes of the gentleman from California, who called him to his feet, the editor of a "great weekly periodical" may present the gleaming and suggestive features of a Catiline.

“Mr. Lynch laid down his gavel, and his place was taken by Henderson. The audience saw, as the latter was being escorted to his place, a tall, slender gentleman, whose figure, close-clipped beard and mustache, and compact head, remind one of General Sherman. He is fairly tonsured by nature on the crown of his head—possibly an unintended but nevertheless *apropos* species of consecration for the duties of the high position to which he has been elevated by the convention. His face is rather a finished one; there have been left no rugged prominences or undue protuberances; there is a suggestion of energy in the countenance, but nothing of rude strength or grinding friction. He commenced to read his address in a voice which was hoarse from a cold or embarrassment. Those in the vicinity listened politely for a few moments, but finding that they could hear only an occasional fraction of a sentence they gave their attention to something else, and resolved to get the remarks from the newspapers. The speaker took a sip or two of water, and his voice improved. It extended further and further from the desk, and soon reached far into the black mass that rolled on beyond the delegates. And now, suddenly, those who had resolved to wait and read his speech in the morning papers found themselves listening. He began to speak of the men whom the convention had for a choice of candidates. He spoke of what Vermont had to offer, and there was a fair wave of enthusiasm that swept over the audience in the shape of cheers and waving of handkerchiefs. Illinois was mentioned, and the services of her “favorite son” on the battle-field and in official life were hinted at, and the response from the delegations was emphatic in one or two localities, but did not

make any excursions outside of the barricade among the people. New York was gracefully mentioned as one of the States which is in a position to furnish what the convention and the party need to win the coming battle. And then the uproar began. Portions of the delegates cheered vociferously, and here and there from out the distant masses there came roars of approval. And then in choice and elegant language he brought up Maine, and eulogized the gift to the Nation which that State is prepared to make.

“In a second a majority of the delegates, the long blocks of people to the right and left, to the rear, and from gallery to gallery, and from pit to dome, were on their feet, and the grand structure rocked with the thunders of the cheers! The air was white and black with waving handkerchiefs and flying hats. It was a veritable thunder-storm of enthusiasm. It rolled from horizon to horizon of the hall, it roared up the cloud-banks of people to the zenith of the roof, and as it died away it was taken up and again and again repeated till it seemed as if the storm were without end! What was most apparent in this tumultuous outburst was, that it was without the slightest premonition. It came as unexpectedly as a flash of lightning sometimes does out of a clear sky. It was spontaneous and unpremeditated as is the fall of a stone to the earth when its support is withdrawn. One instant, the vast audience had possibly not even the thought of Blaine in its minds, and the next it was wild with an enthusiasm which even those who were most affected could not wholly explain.

“The speaker closed his address, after the repeated and long drawn-out enthusiasm of the people would permit him

to resume, by an allusion to what was within the reach of Ohio in the person of one who is distinguished as a patriot, and the greatest of living soldiers, and who might be available in case the demand of the States for a leader should fall upon Ohio. There was considerable hurrahing over this allusion to the warrior member of the Sherman family, but nothing so enthusiastic as over the proffered gift of Maine. How far the compliments of the chairman to General Sherman were intended as a civility to a great captain, and how far as an attempt to familiarize the people with the name of a possible candidate is something which was not precisely in the address.

“The two episodes referred to rescued the morning hour from any thing like stagnation. The attempt to make the delegates agree to bind themselves to sustain the nomination, whoever it might be, found an indignant opponent in Curtis, who asserted that he was a free man and needed no chains to bind his honor. He denounced the intended movement as an insult to every member of the convention, and did it so effectively that he carried the sympathies of the delegates and the audience with him, and placed himself in the very front of the speakers who have thus far obtained a hearing. The Blaine episode shows the inflammable nature of the people; one moment the vast assembly-room was of a twilight obscurity, and the next it was blazing in every portion of its space. To kindle them, as in the case of certain matches, it is only necessary to scratch them on the proper chemical surface. In the present case, the Maine chemical composition seems to have been the one needed to secure the ignition of the masses.

“At night the convention was slow in assembling, and still slower in coming to order after the hall was filled. Despite the thunder-storm and the pouring rain, every seat was taken, the women turning out in immense force. The gaslights and the gay colors of the lady visitors were exhilarating, the audience was cheerful, and there were fond anticipations of an evening of sensational enjoyment. The square jaws and resolute mouth of young Roosevelt were detected in close proximity to the ear of the chairman; Curtis was surrounded in one of the aisles by a mysterious crowd of half a dozen; the gigantic Ex-Congressman Donnan, of Iowa, was seen to be engaged in whispered interviews with some members of the press, from all of which acute observers were led to conclude that the prospects were excellent for a lively evening session.

“Matthews, of the Illinois contingent, caught the eye of the chairman, and sent up a resolution that 500 additional entrance-tickets be printed for the use of veteran soldiers who might be in the city. The mover then proceeded to describe the condition of the veterans who had come here from all parts of the Union to witness the proceedings of the assemblage. When assured that a ticket for every seat in the hall had been sold, Mr. Matthews movingly implored that the travel-worn veterans be permitted to occupy a seat here and there when the regular owner was absent, and the remainder of the time they could lie about the porticoes on the outside of the building. Somehow the delegates did not take kindly to the movement. There was a sarcastic motion that the distribution of the additional tickets be given to the Illinois delegation, whereat there was much laughter.

“The debate over the resolution drew out several speakers, but none were friendly save a venerable colored delegate from Florida, Mr. Lee, who beamed benevolently over the great audience through enormous spectacles, and magnanimously proposed, as there are no veterans from his State, the tickets due the delegation should be given to some State which has veterans of its own.”

The routine proceedings previous to the permanent organization were not important, except to those immediately interested. They consisted in the introduction of miscellaneous resolutions and much desultory discussion. General John B. Henderson, of Missouri, was selected as permanent president, and Hon. Charles W. Clisbee, of Michigan, as permanent secretary. The regulation number of vice-presidents and honorary secretaries were also reported. Upon assuming the chair, President Henderson addressed the convention as follows :

“Gentlemen of the Convention: We have assembled on this occasion to survey the past history of the party, to rejoice as we may because of the good it has done, to correct its errors, if errors there be, to discover, if possible, the wants of the present, and with patriotic firmness provide for the future. Gentlemen, our past history is the Union preserved, slavery abolished, and its former victims equally and honorably by our sides in this convention; the public faith maintained, unbounded credit at home and abroad; a currency convertible into coin, and the pulses of industry throbbing with renewed health and vigor in every section of a prosperous and peaceful country. These are the fruits of triumphs over adverse policies gained in the military and

civil conflicts of the last twenty-four years. Out of these conflicts has come a race of heroes and statesmen challenging confidence and love at home and respect and admiration abroad.

“And when we now come to select a standard-bearer for the approaching contest, our embarrassment is not in the want but in the multiplicity of presidential material. New York has her true and tried statesman [applause], upon whose administration the fierce and even unfriendly light of public scrutiny has been turned, and the universal verdict is: “Well done, thou good and faithful servant.” [Cheers.] Vermont has her great statesman, whose mind is as clear as the crystal springs of his native State, and whose virtue is as firm as its granite hills. [Applause.] Ohio can come with a name whose history is but the history of the Republican party. [Applause.] Illinois can come with a man who never failed in the discharge of public duty [cheers], whether in counsel-chamber or upon fields of battle. [Cheers.] Maine has her favorite, whose splendid abilities and personal qualities have endeared him to the hearts of his friends, and the brilliancy of whose genius challenges the admiration of mankind. [Cheers and waving of handkerchiefs for several minutes.] Connecticut and Indiana also come with names scarcely less illustrious than any of these. [Applause.] And now, gentlemen, in conclusion, if because of personal disagreements amongst us, or the emergencies of the occasion, another name is sought, there yet remains that grand old hero of Kenesaw Mountain and Atlanta. [Applause.] When patriotism calls, he can not, if he would, be silent; but grasping that banner, to him so

dear, which he has already borne in triumph upon many a bloody field, he would march to a civic victory no less renowned than those of war.

“Gentlemen, I thank you for this distinguished mark of your confidence, and will discharge the duties imposed at least with impartiality.” [Applause.]

In the course of the proceedings the following preamble and resolution were introduced by Mr. Johnston, a delegate from California :

“In behalf of those who represent the great and fundamental industry of our country, we demand that agriculture shall have a special representative in the President’s cabinet ; therefore, be it

“*Resolved*, That the commissioner of agriculture be made a cabinet officer.”

THE CHAIRMAN.—The resolution will go to the Committee on Resolutions, of course.

The convention adjourned at an early hour, but the larger portion of the delegates and spectators remained to listen to stirring and patriotic speeches from Governor Oglesby, of Illinois, and Congressman Horr, of Michigan.

CHAPTER VI.

THE REPUBLICAN NOMINATIONS.

“Men are never so likely to settle a question rightly as when they discuss it freely.”

MACAULAY.

THE CONVENTION—CONTINUED.

THERE was an idea abroad that the nominating speeches would be made at the morning session of Thursday, June 5th, and therefore every seat in the vast hall was filled at an early hour. But the anticipations of the immense assemblage were disappointed. Routine proceedings were the order of the hour, and there was little to interest the ordinary spectator.

“The unanimity of the report of the Committee on Credentials disappointed many who had hoped to see a fight at this stage of the proceedings. There was a little ripple of excitement and a few not ear-splitting cheers when the report announced that the Mahone delegates were to retain their seats, and a tolerable welcome in the way of cheers greeted the little Readjuster as he, with a gratified smile, walked down the aisle to his seat. The presentation of the report on rules afforded an hour which tried men’s souls. Innumerable amendments were offered, substitutes were presented, the previous question moved, no body could hear anybody else, the aisles were filled with moving people, and the gavel of the chairman punctuated in rapid measure the confusion, adding to instead of subduing it. Finally, there came an amendment to

the rules by which it was ordered that no person shall be a member of the National Committee who is not eligible as a member of the Electoral College. This attracted some little attention, for it was explained by the venerable Senator Hoar that it was meant to prevent Federal officers from contributing to or soliciting money from other Federal officers for party purposes.

“The most exciting occurrence of the morning session was the presentation and discussion of the minority report in regard to the appointment of delegates to future conventions. It brought several speakers to their feet, among whom Lynch, the colored delegate from Mississippi, and Judge W. O. Bradley, of Kentucky, carried off the honors. The latter is a very large but not a badly proportioned man, with a good face, and fairly good oratorical ability. He denounced the report as an injury and an insult to the South. He was vehement in his utterances, and by the very intensity of his action succeeded in inspiring a large sympathy, which was manifested in much applause during his speech and a hearty round at its conclusion. Lynch was called for by the crowd, although there were a dozen other men on their feet trying to get the eye of the chairman. He delivered one the best speeches of the session. It was brief, but immensely forcible both in the character of its arguments and the intensity and earnestness with which it was delivered. He was long and freely applauded. Mr. West, the blind delegate from Ohio, gained the floor for a few minutes, during which he spoke against the report in a manner so impassioned that at times he was almost incoherent.

“The withdrawal of the obnoxious minority report was

greeted with extravagant delight, especially by the colored delegates, who exhausted all possible available agencies, such as hats, hands, lungs, newspapers, and the like, in order to give emphasis to their satisfaction.

Reading of the platform resolutions was listened to with marked attention, and many of the strong points were greeted with loud huzzas. It is a strong and well considered declaration of views and its unanimous adoption was effected in that matter-of-course style which proved every delegate fully informed in all the details of Republican doctrine. The business of this day's session was dispatched in a prompt, orderly way, and although there was a good deal of it, the morning session was concluded at 2 P. M. Besides the report of the Committee on Resolutions, the Committees on Credentials, Rules and Order of Business, all made elaborate reports, and there was extended discussion of a resolution introduced by Mr. Grow, of Pennsylvania, to change the basis of district representation in national conventions.

The adjournment from 2 o'clock till 7, evening, was a surprise to the crowd, but not to a large number of delegates. It was announced that the nominating speeches would be made at night, and then it became generally understood that the adjournment had been brought about by influences more friendly to the candidacy of others than to that of Mr. Blaine. It was thought best to have the speeches so late that no ballotings could be had thereafter until the delegates had slept upon their impressions, and this plan was thought to favor any aspirant rather than the man of Maine.

How ridiculous this pretense appeared to those who were giving it attention outside the convention, and who knew that the moral pressure concentrated in the hopes and prayers of four million Republican voters would prevent the nomination of any but Blaine. Nominating speeches do not make votes in conventions composed of alert and intelligent delegates, such as were here assembled. If they did, Judge Foraker's effort would have greatly increased the strength of Senator Sherman, for it was the most eloquent and finished speech of the occasion. All the speeches were good; but among those specially complimented were, West's, Foraker's, and Long's, made respectively for Blaine, Sherman, and Edmunds.

The evening session was the brilliant culmination of the Convention. At 7 o'clock the exposition building groaned with people; every foot of room was filled, and thirty minutes later the doors were closed. None of the aisles were permitted to be occupied, but up in the galleries every pillar was encircled by a score or more men.

The band played "The Stars and Stripes." All the house looked anxious and ready to have the work begin. The delegates were nearly all seated, but there was no apparent restlessness on their part, and the curious faces seen in their ranks defied analysis.

The chairman was nursing a cold, and ate first a licorice drop and then a troche, and, after a draught of water to wash them down, tried chewing at the end of a piece of colt's-foot. Back of him sat Senator Lapham, his white hair, round, rosy face, and smiling countenance making him the object of universal attention.

Mr. Roosevelt, of New York, stood out in the front aisle with his arm round some Ohio delegate's neck. He listened attentively, pulled his mustache vigorously, and looked out of the corner of his eye-glasses at the ladies in the east box.

Mr. McPherson, for many years clerk of the House, did the coaching for the chairman, and had a hard time to exchange pleasantries with every body who passed him.

The first speaker, Augustus Brandegee, of Connecticut, mounted the stage and took position at the left of the chairman. He looked like a little iron war-horse, with his small, narrow frame well covered with a net-work of muscles, and iron-gray chin beard and mustache, and a pair of steel-gray eyes that fairly flashed with fire and animation. He pounded his little, fat hands on the table, and filled the great hall with his eloquence, which, however, was far in excess of his voice. Water was served, but in less than five minutes he was as hoarse as the chairman at his side. And when the yells of the crowd outside were heard he was as red as the badge on his bosom, and the perspiration rolled down his face in little streams.

When Maine was called, it was like springing a mine. Up to their feet sprang five thousand men and woman with the cry of "Blaine." The storm of cheers raged until it seemed that human nature must give out. Brazen music tried to drown the noise, but the thousands of tongues refused to be overcome. A white plume perched on top of a pyramid of flowers was held aloft on the stage. It was saluted as the insignia of the great commoner. Flags were torn from their decorations, and were dipped from the galleries.

Delegates whirled around their handkerchiefs, and even opened umbrellas, and danced them up and down. The chair could not, with his gavel, bring about order. But at last human nature did. Judge West made the nominating speech. Some passages were magnificent in their eloquence.

When he mentioned the name of Hon. James G. Blaine, the convention rose *en masse*, and such rounds and storms of enthusiasm were not heard in the city since the nomination of James A. Garfield. Men got up, took off their coats, and pulled down the flags and banners that draped the gallery rails. These stars and stripes were given to the ladies, who waved them as long as their strength lasted. Umbrellas were raised, whistles and shouts rent the building and reached the throng out on the street.

The great staff of patrolmen and police were set aside, and thousands of men and boys scaled the balconies, and not only filled every window, but opened those that were closed, and lent their fresh lungs to the tired throats in the house.

The ladies at this moment sent greetings to the "Plumed Knight, the champion of the land that above all lands champions and respects the cause of women." The tribute consisted of a helmet made of pink and white roses, over which waved a plume of white yak hair. Bands of red, white, and blue satin strings finished the typical design. This was seized and hoisted on the apex of one of the American flags in sight of the yelling crowd. The sight of it renewed the people to louder and longer plaudits, and it was more than half an hour before the sightless orator could finish his remarks.

Again was the vast building filled with wild huzzahs when the orator repeated the name of Blaine, and the throng took them up outside. Could the popular preference be mistaken? men asked. Grow, for Pennsylvania, and Platt, for New York, seconded the nomination. So did Colonel Goodloe, for Kentucky, in passionate and brilliant eulogy. Arthur received a rival demonstration when New York was called. It was grand. But in after mention of the President it was evident that the popular heart was not touched. Townsend, of Troy, made a bad mess of the nominating speech. An attack was made on Conkling that was in exceeding bad taste, and was deservedly hissed.

In nominating Sherman, Judge Foraker received quite an ovation. He was listened to with great attention. Nobody who heard Foraker could doubt his loyalty to John Sherman. It was peculiar that while the Sherman part of the Ohio delegation refused to participate in the Blaine demonstration, the entire delegation joined in the applause for Sherman. Foraker spoke of Arthur. There were a few cheers. Then he expressed his admiration for that brilliant chieftain of Maine. The Blaine fever broke out again. Foraker gave Blaine, merely by an incidental reference, the biggest boom he had had yet. The galleries got uncontrollable. The white plume was seized and put on top of a starry flag, and amid the wildest imaginable scenes it was carried around the center aisle. Foraker conducted himself amazingly under the ordeal. He made a good point when quiet again reigned over the convention, by reminding his hearers that they should not shout until they had got out of the woods. The happy turn was greeted with applause and cheers.

Judge Holt, of Kentucky, seconded the nomination of Sherman in a good, practical, well-put speech.

Governor Long's effort in behalf of Edmunds was forcible, clear-cut, logical, and earnest. Like Foraker's, it was an appeal to sober judgment. In beauty of imagery, Governor Long's speech was a masterpiece of oratory.

George Wm. Curtis seconded the nomination of Edmunds. His rich voice, scholarly enunciation, and purity of style attracted the deep attention of his hearers.

It should have been mentioned in due order, that when Illinois was called, Governor Cullom presented the name of General John A. Logan, in an eloquent and well considered address, which was received with enthusiastic plaudits.*

At the close of Mr. Curtis's second of the nomination of Edmunds, half an hour after midnight, the nominating speeches were concluded. Then there was considerable skirmishing to reach a ballot, and no little managng by those opposed to a ballot at this juncture to secure an adjournment. Finally, an adjournment was decided upon, till Friday morning, June 6th.

* This speech, and several others which are thought to be important to the completeness and interest of this volume, are reproduced in some of the later pages.

CHAPTER VII.

THE REPUBLICAN NOMINATIONS.

“WHEN GREEKS JOIN'D GREEKS, THEN WAS THE TUG OF WAR.”

“The streets adorn'd, the doors with statues graced,
Vast thronging crowds retard the great procession,
Whose loud repeated shouts divide the air.
With garlands crown'd, the Virgins strew the ways,
And in glad hymns repeat his glorious name.” HIGGON.

THE CONVENTION—CONTINUED.

UPON the fourth and last day of its session, the Eighth National Republican Convention was called to order at 11.20 A. M., by Chairman Henderson. The session was opened with an invocation by Rev. Dr. Scudder, of Chicago.

After the effusions of eloquence last night in presenting the names of candidates, the workers arose this morning for renewed efforts on the home stretch. One of the things sought by Senators Miller and Chaffee, Congressman Elkins and other Blaine managers, was to hold their vote for a continued struggle of a hundred ballots, if need be. They said they would be more steadfast than the “Old Guard,” if necessary. In this they scored their success. No dilatory motions for recess or anything else could break their march or in any manner demoralize them. They felt their strength, and in the hotel lobbies this morning, while their followers

were still noisy, the managers were confident and cool. They said they were simply working to prevent the will of the people from being defeated; that the boom for Blaine needed no motive power, but that they had only to look out for breakers and trickery.

The attention of the morning session was given to the ballot for the nomination of a Presidential candidate. Having given the details of the ballots in a previous chapter, only the aggregates are here presented:

FIRST BALLOT.—OFFICIAL FOOTINGS.—Blaine 334½, Arthur 278, Edmunds 93, Logan 63½, John Sherman 30, Hawley 13, Lincoln 4, General Sherman 2.

SECOND BALLOT.—The result of the second ballot was announced at 1.20, and the increase of Blaine's vote was the cause of an exuberant demonstration on the part of the audience.

Official footings of the second ballot: Whole number of delegates, 820; whole number of votes cast, 818; necessary to a choice, 411. Blaine received 349, Arthur 277, Edmunds 85, Logan 61, John Sherman 28, Hawley 13, Lincoln 4, General Sherman 2.

THIRD BALLOT.—The result of the third ballot was announced at 2.10.

The official footings were: Whole number of votes cast, 819. Blaine received 375, Arthur 274, Edmunds 69, Logan 53, John Sherman 25, Hawley 13, General Sherman 2, Lincoln 8.

The gains made in the Blaine vote, and the understanding that the Logan vote would probably be transferred to Blaine, produced another storm of cheering and wild enthusi-

asm for Blaine. Bingham of Pennsylvania, William W. Phelps of New Jersey, and one or two colored delegates endeavored to get a hearing, and vociferated and gesticulated without succeeding in being heard, their voices being drowned in tumultuous yells, cheers, and demands for a call of the roll. Not deterred by their failure, Roosevelt of New York, carried away by the excitement, got up on his seat, waving his arms, and appeared as if he was saying something, but not a word was heard from him.

Finally, at 2.30, the taking of the fourth ballot was begun. Before the vote of Alabama was given, there was another uproar, in which Dutcher, Roosevelt, and other New York delegates took prominent parts. It arose upon the technical point that a motion to take a recess had been made, and had been decided by the Chair in the negative, although calls had been made for a vote by States. At last a Blaine delegate appealed to his friends to have the vote on the recess taken by States, and at 2.30 the vote by States began.

The result of the vote on the motion for a recess was, yeas 364, nays 450. The announcement was hailed with vociferous applause, as a Blaine triumph. It was a long time before order was restored sufficiently to have business proceeded with. Judge Foraker, of Ohio, proposed to nominate Blaine by acclamation, but Mr. Burrows, of Michigan, insisted that the taking of the ballot should go on. It was evident that the crisis was at hand, and that nothing could stay the coming deluge.

FOURTH BALLOT.—Finally, at 3.15, the convention proceeded to the fourth ballot. The changes from the third

ballot were as follows: Alabama, Blaine gains 6, Arthur loses 5, Logan loses 1; Arkansas, no change; California, no change; Colorado, no change; Connecticut, no change; Delaware, no change; Florida (vote being polled), Blaine gains 2, Arthur loses 2; Georgia, no change. Illinois being called, Senator Cullom rose and said he wished to read a dispatch which he had just received from General Logan. Objections were promptly made and sustained. [The dispatch received by Senator Cullom read as follows:

“WASHINGTON, D. C., June 6th.

“To S. M. CULLOM, Illinois Delegation:

“The Republicans of the States that must be relied on to elect the President, having so strongly shown a preference for Mr. Blaine, I deem it my duty not to stand in the way of the people's choice, and I recommend my friends to assist in his nomination.

“JOHN A. LOGAN.”]

Mr. Cullom then withdrew the name of General Logan, and cast 34 votes of Illinois for Blaine. The change in Illinois from Logan to Blaine made Blaine's vote 414. Mr. Cullom completed his report, giving Blaine 34, Logan 7, and Arthur 3, a gain to Blaine of 31, a gain to Arthur of 2 and a loss to Logan of 33. Indiana cast 30 votes solid for Blaine, a gain to Blaine of 12 and a loss to Arthur of 10, and to Logan of 2. Iowa, Blaine loses 2, Arthur gains 2. Louisiana, Blaine gains 5; Maine, no change; Maryland, Blaine gains 3; Kansas, Blaine gains 3; Kentucky, Blaine gains 3; Massachusetts, vote polled; Michigan, Blaine gains 8; Minnesota, Blaine gains 2; Mississippi, Blaine gains 1; Missouri, Blaine gains 22; New Hampshire, Blaine gains 3; New Jersey, Blaine gains 6. [A dispatch was received

from President Arthur by Mr. Curtis, of the *Inter-Ocean*, saying: "If Blaine is nominated on this ballot have Dutcher ask to make the nomination unanimous, and thank my friends for me."] New York (vote polled), no change; North Carolina, Blaine gains 5; Ohio, the whole vote was cast for Blaine, a gain of 21; Oregon, no change; Pennsylvania gave Blaine 51 votes, a gain of 1; Rhode Island, Blaine gains 7—(the Illinois delegation has telegraphed to Logan asking whether he will accept the nomination for the Vice-presidency, and is waiting for an answer); South Carolina, no change; Tennessee, Blaine gains 4; Texas, Blaine gains 1; Vermont, no change; Virginia, no change; West Virginia, no change; Wisconsin cast her 22 votes for Blaine, a gain of 11; Idaho, Blaine gains 1; Montana, Blaine gains 1; New Mexico, no change; Utah, Blaine gains 2; Washington, no change; Wyoming, Blaine gains 2.

The result was announced at 4.40. Instantly, and even before the last figures were pronounced by Mr. McPherson, the vast audience arose and broke out into another mad demonstration of enthusiasm. Cheers resounded, the band struck up an inspiring air, hats, handkerchiefs, and national flags were waved. A large square banner from Kansas was carried through the hall, promising a large majority in that State for Blaine, and with its two uprights capped with new brooms. A stuffed eagle from Colorado was also carried around in the procession. The roar of artillery outside was heard, booming with the louder roar of voices inside, and amid great enthusiasm the nomination was made unanimous; suggested by telegraphic request from President Arthur.

THE CHAIRMAN, after a comparative lull in the tumult—James G. Blaine, of Maine, having received the votes of a majority of all the delegates elected to this convention, the question now before the convention is, shall the nomination of Mr. Blaine be made unanimous? [Applause.] On this motion the Chair recognizes Mr. Burleigh, of New York.

MR. BURLEIGH, of New York—Mr. President and brother Republicans, in behalf of the President of the United States, and at his request, I move to make the nomination of James G. Blaine, of Maine, unanimous, and I promise for the friends of President Arthur, who are always loyal at the polls, and for Old Northern New York, twenty thousand Republican majority in the north; and I promise you all that we will do all we can for the ticket and the nominee, and we will show you in November next that New York is a Republican State. [Cheers.] It elected James A. Garfield, and it will elect James G. Blaine, of Maine. [Applause.]

SENATOR SABIN, of Minnesota—Mr. Chairman, four years ago in this very hall, and as a delegate to the National Republican Convention, I was opposed to Chester A. Arthur and to the elements with which he then associated. Since then he has been called, under the most trying circumstances, to fill the first place in the gift of the people of this country. So well, so nobly has he filled that trust; so happily has he disappointed not only those of his opponents, but his friends; so fully has he filled the position of the gentleman that he is—of a scholar, and of a gentleman possessed of that great, good common sense which has made his administration a great and pronounced success—that he has grown

upon me, until to-day I honor and revere Chester A. Arthur. As a friend of his, I no less honor and revere that prince of gentlemen, that scholar, that gifted statesman, James G. Blaine, and it affords me the greatest pleasure to second the motion to make his nomination unanimous, with the prediction that his name before this country in November will produce that same spontaneous enthusiasm which will make him President of the United States the fourth of March next.

SENATOR PLUMB, of Kansas—Mr. Chairman, this convention has discharged one of its most important trusts, and is now, notwithstanding the length of time it has been in session and the exciting scenes through which it has passed, in thorough good humor, and I believe ready to go on and conclude the business which brought us here. [Cries of "No!" "No!"] Mr. President, before proceeding to this, I desire also, in connection with the senator from Minnesota, and responding to the sentiment which pervades this entire convention, to second the motion that this nomination be made unanimous, and I hope there will not be a dissenting voice in all this vast assemblage. [Applause.]

THE SECRETARY—I have been requested to read to the convention the following telegraphic dispatch :

The President has sent the following dispatch to Mr. Blaine :
" *The Hon. James G. Blaine, Augusta, Maine.*—As the candidate of the Republican party, you will have my earnest and cordial support.
CHESTER A. ARTHUR."

The announcement was received with applause.

THE CHAIRMAN—The motion is, Shall the nomination of Mr. Blaine be made unanimous ?

The motion was carried amidst much cheering.

During the final ballot it was with the utmost difficulty that the excitement could be repressed until the roll was complete and the official result was announced, which was done by Secretary McPherson. The latter, in announcing the vote, began with the lowest, leaving Blaine to the last. When the latter's name was reached McPherson got no further than "Blaine, five hundred," when the storm of applause burst, and the additional votes above the five hundred were unheard. Then ensued a scene which beggars description. For fully fifteen minutes the vast crowd was on its feet, and the roar of cheers and yells was continuous. Men paraded the aisles with banners of strange device. From outside the building, where vast crowds were in waiting, came the echoing cheers and the booming of cannon. It was a magnificent demonstration of satisfaction at a result which is as clearly the people's choice as any that was ever made by a political party. On the motion to make the nomination unanimous there was not a dissenting vote or voice in all the immense throng.

George William Curtis was loudly called for after the nomination was made, but he refused to respond. The delegates from the Pacific States could find no bounds to their joy. Before the recess was taken, the cannon began booming all along the lake shore; the printing presses were rattling off pictures of the great leader, and the city that has its exchanges rattling away all the time with as much noise as a National Convention, was soon alive with the "Hurrah for Blaine."

At the evening session, the roll of States was called for the nomination of candidates for Vice-president.

When Illinois was called, Senator Plumb, of Kansas, came forward, and spoke as follows :

“Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen of the Convention: This convention has already discharged two of the most serious obligations which rested upon it—the adoption of a platform and the nomination of a candidate for the Presidency. [Applause.] The platform is one upon which all good Republicans and all good citizens can unite, and of which they can well feel proud. The candidate for the presidency needs no eulogium from me, and I can also say for him that he can meet any man in the Democratic party, whether that man be dead or alive. [Applause.] Upon that statement it might seem a matter of comparative indifference as to who should fill the second place; but, Mr. President and gentlemen, there is such a thing as proportion. Having nominated a statesman of approved reputation, a man of whom we are all proud, we owe it to the party to nominate the best and most available man we have for the second place. [Applause.]

“Mr. President, this is the first time in the history of the Republican party since the war when the man who is to fill the first place is not a soldier. There are a million men yet living who served their country in the late war. And now, Mr. President, twenty years after the lapse of that war they are bound together by ties as strong as they ever were while serving under arms, and the great brotherhood of the soldiery of the United States is one of the most important factors in the social and political life of the American Republic. [Applause.] It is due, not as a matter of availability, but as a matter of just recognition to that great

body of soldiery who made the Republican party possible, that a fit representative of theirs should have the second place upon the team—a man who, wise within himself, has not only the qualities of a soldier, but also the qualities of a statesman—because the American people are becoming now considerate of the second place upon the National ticket, and it is a matter of grave concern that the man to be chosen shall be fit to step into the shoes of the man in the first place. [Applause.]

“Mr. President, as I said, if it were only a question of electing a ticket, we might nominate any body. But it is more than that. It is not only a question of carrying and electing a President and a Vice-president, but it is a question of the election of a majority of the House of Representatives in Congress. It is a question of rehabilitating States where Legislatures have been lost, and, consequently, representatives in the Senate have been equally lost. You want especially to strengthen this ticket, if so it may be, by adding to it a man who has his representatives in all portions of this broad land, in every township, in every school district, in every representative district, and in every county, in order that the ticket may be carried to the farthest confines of the Republic, and its remotest places, with that good will and recognition which will make sure of a full vote. [Applause.]

“We have come to that point since the war when the kindly feeling growing out of association has come to be a power, and out of that kindly feeling has grown the organization of the Grand Army of the Republic, which has now in its communion more than three-fourths of the men who

lately wore the blue. [Loud applause.] They are Republicans because the Republican party is true to them, to their interests, and to all those things for which they fought and sacrificed; and it is only just and proper that, in making tickets and in making platforms, we should recognize that great body of honorable and self-sacrificing men.

“Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, in presenting to you a candidate, I shall present one to you who, I believe, fills all the qualifications necessary for even the first place upon this ticket; a man whose military and civil record will not be obscured by even so brilliant a one as that of the head of the ticket. [Loud applause.] That is the kind of a man we want—a man tried in war and in peace, a man who has in every capacity in which he has been tried so acted that to-day his name and fame are a part of the proud heritage of the American people. [Loud applause.] By the terms of your resolution you have abridged that which I would say; but it is enough for me to say that the man whom I present for your consideration, believing that he will add strength to the ticket, and believing that he will justify the words I have spoken, is General John A. Logan, of Illinois.” [Loud applause.]

The applause at this point was repeatedly renewed, and lasted for several minutes.

The speaker, resuming, said: “His reputation is no more the property of Illinois than it is of Kansas; but there are seventy-five thousand ex-soldiers of the late war upon the prairies of Kansas who, with one accord, when they hear of the nomination of John A. Logan, will rise up and indorse it and ratify it. [Loud applause.] I know

Illinois begrudges him to the country; like Hosea Bigelow's wife, they want him for home consumption. But, Mr. President, it is a command which we have a right to lay upon them, and I know that in Illinois, with that command upon them, they will do as General Logan would do himself. He obeys the duty and obligation of party, the command of the party and the country; and, in fact, he never disobeyed but one order, and that was when he disobeyed an order not to fight a battle.

"Therefore, in behalf of the ex-soldiers of the Union, in behalf of the State of Kansas, by whom I am commissioned for this purpose, and in behalf, generally, of the great body of the Republican party of the Union, who admire and esteem this man, I present his name for your consideration, and hope that he may receive the nomination at your hands." [Loud applause and shouts.]

THE CHAIRMAN.—Judge Houck, of Tennessee.

JUDGE HOUCK.—Mr. Chairman, gentlemen of the convention: Thus far, while I have not received my first choice, this convention has done well. [Cries of "Good!" "Good!" and applause.] Under the leadership, at the head of the ticket, of the Plumed Knight of Maine, we expect in November, all other conditions being equal, to march to glorious and final victory over the Democratic party in the United States. [Applause.] Now that the first part of our duties has been discharged; now that we have a candidate at the head of the ticket whom every genuine Republican in these United States, whether for or against him in this contest, can cheerfully and heartily support; now that we have started thus well, let us complete

our work by adding as the candidate for Vice-president of the United States one who, as we all know, may have to enter the Executive Mansion and discharge the duties of the first office of the Nation—I say, let us now see if we can not come to an understanding and agreement and unite upon one who will do equal honor in that position as the distinguished leader who is at the head of our ticket.

And in looking over all this country, looking through the halls of Congress, going back over the reminiscences of the war, analyzing the character of men upon the field or in the halls of legislation, wherever he has been called to duty, John A. Logan has never been found wanting [cheers and loud applause]; and it has been well said by the gentleman who has preceded me that, having nominated a civilian for the first time since the war, it is now all-important to give to the soldiers of the country, who fought the battles of the Union to preserve it to the people, a representative upon that ticket. That being so, in whom can we find all the elements necessary to make up the statesmanship which is necessary to discharge the duties of this high office, but in General John A. Logan? I can do it the more cheerfully—it is perfectly natural to me; it becomes a part of my nature and goes into my sympathies, into the very sympathies of my heart to advocate his nomination—coming as I do (perhaps I will give you something that some of you never thought of), coming as I do, as a representative of that part of the country where two Congressional Districts, the First and Second of Tennessee, gave more soldiers to fight under the flag than any two other Districts in the United States of America. [Applause.] That being

so, representing these elements, I know that when the wires shall have transmitted the news of the nomination of John A. Logan for the Vice-presidency of the United States to the soldier boys of East Tennessee, they will rejoice there, as they will rejoice everywhere the news is transmitted. [Cheers and loud applause.] It is an inviting theme, but I am admonished that under the rules I should desist after a few more words.

Now, gentlemen, let us join hands. The truth is, there ought not to be any other nomination. [Applause and cheers.] John A. Logan ought to be nominated by acclamation. Our delegation, as you have seen, has been somewhat divided on every thing else, but when you come to John A. Logan we are united—twenty-four strong. [Great applause.] Mr. President and gentlemen of the convention, for the considerations which I have mentioned, I now place John A. Logan's destinies in your hands, with the full conviction that when the roll is called you will make him the candidate of the party, and in November victory will perch upon our banners. [Great applause.]

THE CHAIRMAN—Mr. Thurston, of Nebraska.

MR. THURSTON—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the convention: In seconding this magnificent nomination on behalf of a great veteran constituency I have only this to say, let us write upon the banner of the Republican party for this glorious campaign this invincible legion—"Blaine and Logan"—[great applause]—"Blaine and Logan: Peace and War." The great gratitude of the American people will crown these victors of them both with their grand and glorious approbation. [Loud applause, and cries of "Time!"]

THE CHAIRMAN—Mr. Lee, of Pennsylvania.

MR. LEE—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the convention: You have inaugurated here to-day a glorious victory for November [applause] by nominating for President a native of Pennsylvania, but whose fame was too great for his own State. It is of the whole country. You will complete the work which you have so well begun. The people believed, with a belief which amounted to conviction, that you would recognize their sovereign will in the nomination which you would here make, and you have not disappointed them.

And so with you, knights of the great Commonwealth of Kansas, in seconding the nomination of a man for Vice-president who was fit to be President of the United States, I second, on behalf of the great Middle States of Pennsylvania and Ohio, the nomination of John A. Logan. [Applause.]

MR. HERR, of Michigan—Mr. Chairman—

Calls were made to Mr. Herr to take the stand, but he declined, and continued as follows:

“I will be through before I can get to the stand. I simply rise, Mr. Chairman, in behalf of that large army of us men who stayed at home during the war [laughter], and at the request of the State of Michigan, to second the nomination of John A. Logan, of Illinois [applause], and I only wish to say that in doing that we will light the camp-fires among the soldiers of the country from one end of this Nation to the other.” [Applause.]

MR. DANCY, of North Carolina—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the convention: I am here, the humble representa-

tive of twelve hundred thousand colored voters in this country; and I believe, gentlemen of the convention, that with the nomination already made of the Hon. James G. Blaine, of Maine, if to that you will add the name of John A. Logan, you will strengthen the confidence and courage of this twelve hundred thousand colored voters, and each and every one of them on the day of the election will be found at the polls casting their votes for him. [Applause.] Gentlemen, we know John A. Logan in the South; we have learned to love him and to honor him. He has stood by us under any and all circumstances. We will be certain to stand by him. [Applause.] Great in war, he has been likewise great in peace, and, keeping the even tenor of his way, he has won the confidence and the respect, not only of the Republican party, but of the Democratic party as well [applause]; and I believe that he can command as many votes in the State as any man who could be named; and, as we have a State that was Democratic by only three hundred, two years ago, we know that with this ticket we can carry it and give five thousand majority in this election. [Applause.] And so, speaking for North Carolina, I say for it, as I say also for some others of the Southern States, we are for John A. Logan first, last, and all the time.

Mr. Arnold, of Georgia, was recognized by the Chair. Some enthusiastic delegate moved that Logan be nominated by acclamation, but was not recognized.

MR. ARNOLD—Mr. Chairman: As the representative of twenty-four true and noble men as ever trod the soil, and who stood by Chester A. Arthur until his flag went down, I rise in my place to second the nomination of John A.

Logan. [Applause.] And while we, sir, in Georgia, are not able to give you an electoral vote, we pledge to you our aid, sympathy, active support, and all that there is within us. [Applause.]

MR. DAWES, of Missouri—Mr. Chairman, I move you that the nomination of John A. Logan be made by acclamation.

Mr. Howe, of Nebraska, make a similar motion.

The Chairman put the question on the motion, and, on the vote being had, said: "It requires two-thirds to suspend the rules, and the Chair being in doubt the roll will be called."

The Clerk called the State of Alabama.

MR. CARR, of Illinois—Mr. Chairman, there have several gentlemen expressed a desire to speak, and so far every one who has spoken, has spoken words that are grateful and precious to every Illinois heart. There are others who still desire to speak and I hope that the roll will not be called. I hope that this action will be suspended until gentlemen from other States who desire to speak shall have been heard from. [Applause.]

Mr. Bradley, of Kentucky, had been standing on his chair attempting to get the attention of the Chairman, and loud calls were made for him.

MR. HOWE, of Nebraska—Mr. Chairman, we are assured by the gentlemen who have already spoken that it is only a question of time that the nomination of John A. Logan will be made unanimous, and I withdraw my motion to make it by acclamation.

Considerable confusion was caused by delegates in all parts of the hall attempting to gain the eye of the Chair-

man. One delegate suggested to the Chair that he ought to preserve order or put some one in the chair who could.

Mr. Lee, of South Carolina, was recognized by the Chairman, but the calls for Bradley were renewed, and Mr. Lee was unable to proceed.

A delegate from Mississippi suggested that the gentleman from Kentucky go ahead on the east side of the hall and Mr. Lee on the west. [Laughter.]

MR. LEE—I most cheerfully yield to the distinguished gentleman from Kentucky, provided I shall be accorded the privilege of speaking for the Republicans of my State when he shall have finished.

MR. BRADLEY, of Kentucky—Mr. Chairman, I am warned by the condition of my voice not to undertake to speak against the tumult of this multitude. I simply arise as one of those fifteen faithful Kentuckians who, through sunshine and through storm, followed the fate of our gallant leader, Chester A. Arthur, to second the nomination of the great volunteer soldier of Illinois—a statesman wise in council, a soldier upon whose sword there is no stain of dishonor, a friend of the oppressed. No more gallant knight ever drew lance upon the bloody fields of Palestine, or fell beneath the gleaming scimitar of Saladin. I arise for the purpose of seconding the nomination of General Logan in behalf of the hundred thousand, yes the hundred thousand brave soldiers who have marched under the Union flag, and kept step to the music of the Union from the State of Kentucky. [Cheers.] You have given us a great statesman from Maine, and I for one bow my humble acquiescence, and am willing, with all the Republicans of this Union, to follow where his

white plume shines. [Loud cheers.] With Blaine as our candidate for President, with Logan as our candidate for Vice-president we shall sweep the country and wipe from the political map the name of Democracy, so that the places that know it now shall know it no more forever. [Loud applause.] I would like to say more upon this fruitful theme, but the condition of my voice, as well as the state of your patience, remind me that I have said enough. [Cries of "Go on, go on."] And now, in conclusion, fellow-citizens of the whole Republic who are assembled here and delegates in this convention, down in the State of Kentucky, where the black cloud of Democracy still hovers over us, let me say to you that, while we can not give you our electoral votes, we will in November poll for Blaine and Logan 120,000 brave men and true. [Applause.] I have said enough, and I thank you again and again for your kindness in asking me to second this nomination. [Loud applause.]

MR. LEE, of South Carolina—I come from a State that gave the United States Government the first colored soldiers that the United States Government ever had in its army. In 1862, in the town of Beaufort, South Carolina, Colonel Higginson, of Massachusetts, organized the first colored troops. I am here to-night, and I am glad that it is my privilege upon this occasion, to say to the American people assembled here in a Republican National Convention that those people in South Carolina never can forget the memorable march through that State of Sherman's army. In that army was the gallant and brave John A. Logan. [Applause.] They know him and they love him, and their anxious hearts have been waiting, hoping to hear from this

convention, that if the first choice, Chester A. Arthur, should not be made the nominee of this convention, their hearts would be made glad by the news being wired to them that John A. Logan was the fortunate choice of this convention. [Applause.]

MR. PETTIBONE, of Tennessee—Mr. Chairman, in the name of three-quarters of a million of the old soldiers of the Republic who did not stay at home, but went to the front, and in the name of 30,000 ex-rebel soldiers of Tennessee, we all of us rejoice in the name of Black Jack Logan. [Cheers.]

MR. LEE, resuming, said: Tennessee feels at liberty to take any privilege she sees a chance to take. [Laughter.] Mr. Chairman, I shall not move to strike out the general's part, for he and I, away from the close relations that our States bear to each other, are closely allied as individuals, until I am always proud to be connected with him in any way. And I wish to say also, briefly, that South Carolina gave the first volunteer to the United States navy in the person of the hero, Robert Smalls, who carried the banner to the harbor of Charleston, and brought it over from the Confederate army and delivered it up to the Federal navy. The people in South Carolina will go to the polls if John A. Logan is upon the ticket with the brilliant genius of James G. Blaine, and will get there at any risk, as they have done before; and no name connected with James G. Blaine will create that enthusiasm in South Carolina as the name of John A. Logan.

Several delegates at this point tried to attract the attention of the Chair, but there was too much confusion and cries of "Call the roll."

The Chair finally recognized Mr. Frank Morey, of Louisiana, who advanced to the platform and spoke as follows :

MR. MOREY—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the convention : At the request of the solid delegation of more than one Southern State besides the State of Louisiana, I rise to second the nomination of John A. Logan. Mr. Chairman, in 1861, when I left my prairie home in Illinois to assist in fighting the battles of the Union, it was my good fortune to be under the command of General John A. Logan in our march from the Ohio River on our way to the Gulf. At the conclusion of the war, and after peace had settled upon the country, and when a fighting constituency had sent me from my new home in Louisiana to the halls of Congress, my first committee work was done on the Committee of Military Affairs, of which General John A. Logan was the Chairman. Mr. President, I know him well, and I love him with my whole heart. I have watched his career as a statesman, and on all public questions he has been almost invariably right, and upon all questions touching the protection of the lives and the liberties, particularly the political and civil rights of the Republicans, both white and black, in the South, he has been always right. And, sir, the Republicans of the South will feel, in the election of General John A. Logan as Vice-president, that they will always have a true friend and tried counselor having the confidence of the Chief Executive of the Nation. It will give renewed courage to the saddened hearts of Southern Republicans now fighting the unequal battle of Republicanism in the South. General Logan is the grand development of the brave, generous, and courageous sentiment of

the people, and combines the glorious manhood of the true and gallant soldier and the eminent statesman. [Applause.] Every element of his character is that of a true American, and his nomination as Vice-president, with James G. Blaine [loud applause], will electrify the patriotic sentiment of the loyal people of this country [loud applause] and will be the cap-sheaf of the magnificent work begun by this convention.

MR. HILL, of Mississippi—I suggest that we proceed to nominate General Logan by acclamation, and let us go to bed and have the other speeches printed. [Laughter.]

MR. BLAIR, of Virginia—I speak by request of General Mahone, the chairman of the Virginia delegation, and inasmuch as Senator Mahone is not able to be here to-night by physical disability. I am here to represent in this convention the Union soldiers that followed General John A. Logan in the last contest, but I am here as a member of the Republican Virginia delegation, that represents in Virginia 30,000 Confederate soldier that have come to the rescue of the Republic. I was a Confederate soldier myself for four years, as were many of the delegation with whom I am now associated, and I serve notice upon these Northern Republicans that they must look well to their laurels, because in old Virginia we have erected the standard of Republicanism, and in the vocabulary of Virginia liberalism, there is no such word as fail. [Loud applause.] And that little handful of ex-Confederate soldiers and Virginians who raised the revolt against Democratic outrage have grown in their growth and strengthened with their strength until to-day we have 127,000 that will vote for James G. Blaine and John A. Logan as President and Vice-president of the United States. I, there-

fore, in behalf of the Virginia delegation, rise to second the nomination of John A. Logan, and move that the nomination be made unanimous.

MR. TAYLOR, of Illinois—I now renew my motion that the rules be suspended and General John A. Logan be declared the nominee of this convention for Vice-president. [Applause.]

GENERAL J. S. ROBINSON, of Ohio—Mr. Chairman: In behalf of the Republicans of Ohio, I desire to second the nomination. I followed General Logan on many a hard-fought field, and he never in any instance failed to respond to the sound of the enemy's musketry. I therefore move to suspend the rules to nominate General Logan by acclamation. [Loud applause.] Mr. Chairman, I insist upon my motion, which has been seconded by several delegations, to suspend the rules and nominate General Logan by acclamation.

MR. CHAIRMAN—It is moved that the rules be suspended, and that General Logan be nominated by acclamation. All in favor of that motion will say aye.

The motion was carried almost unanimously, and General Logan was declared the nominee of the convention for Vice-president.

MR. LAMPSON, of Ohio—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the convention: The Nineteenth District of Ohio, the banner district of the Union, which was so long and so ably represented in the National Congress by that grand statesman and civilian whom the last Republican National Convention delighted to honor with the highest position in the gift of the Republican party [loud applause], promises 20,000 Republi-

can majority for the bosom friend of our martyred Garfield, James G. Blaine, of Maine, and the grand old soldier, John A. Logan, of Illinois. [Loud applause.]

MR. DAVIS, of Illinois—Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the State of Illinois, I ask that the roll shall be called, at the request of our delegates, in the nomination. [Applause and a voice: "Amen!"]

THE CHAIRMAN—The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary then called the roll of States, with the following result:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. votes...	Logan.....	Gresham....	Forker.....	STATES AND TERRITORIES.	No. votes ...	Logan.....	Gresham....	Forker.....
Alabama,	20	20	...	...	New York,	72	60	6	1
Arkansas,	14	14	...	...	North Carolina,	22	22	...	...
California,	16	16	...	...	Ohio,	46	46	...	...
Colorado,	6	6	...	...	Oregon,	6	6	...	...
Connecticut,	12	5	...	...	Pennsylvania,	60	59	...	...
Delaware,	6	6	...	...	Rhode Island,	8	8	...	...
Florida,	8	8	...	...	South Carolina,	18	18	...	...
Georgia,	24	24	...	...	Tennessee,	24	24	...	...
Illinois,	44	44	...	...	Texas,	26	26	...	...
Indiana,	30	30	...	...	Vermont,	8	8	...	...
Iowa,	26	26	...	...	Virginia,	24	24	...	...
Kansas,	18	18	...	...	West Virginia,	12	12	...	...
Kentucky,	26	26	...	...	Wisconsin,	22	19	...	...
Louisiana,	16	16	...	...	Arizona,	2	2	...	...
Maine,	12	12	...	...	Dakota,	2	2	...	...
Maryland,	16	16	...	...	District of Columbia, .	2	2	...	...
Massachusetts,	28	12	...	...	Idaho,	2	2	...	...
Michigan,	26	26	...	...	Montana,	2	2	...	...
Minnesota,	14	14	...	...	New Mexico,	2	2	...	...
Mississippi,	18	18	...	...	Utah,	2	2	...	...
Missouri,	32	30	...	...	Washington,	2	2	...	...
Nebraska,	10	10	...	...	Wyoming,	2	2	...	...
Nevada,	6	6	...	...			
New Hampshire,	8	8	...	...	Total,	820	779	6	1
New Jersey,	18	18	...	...			

When the Chairman of the Massachusetts delegation (Senator Hoar) announced the vote of that delegation to be

nine for Logan and three for Fairchild, of Wisconsin, it was greeted with hisses. After the vote of Mississippi was announced, Mr. Crapo, of the Massachusetts delegation, said: "Mr. President, I desire to announce again the vote of Massachusetts. [Cries of "No objection," "Unanimous," "Go ahead."] Those of the delelates that are here vote twelve for Logan, being the entire number that are present." [Applause.]

When New York was reached in the call of States, Mr. Curtis said:

"Mr. Chairman, I desire that New York may be allowed a little time to complete her tally. [Cries of "Go on!"] New York is not quite ready to report her vote; I ask that a little time be given me to complete the count." ["Time!" "Time!"]

MR. HUSTED, of New York—Mr. Chairman, I ask that the rule may be suspended so that the other States may be called and New York called afterwards. I ask unanimous consent.

THE CHAIRMAN—It will be so ordered without objection.

When the District of Columbia was reached Mr. Conger sprang to his feet and in clarion tones yelled:

"Mr. Chairman, Mr. Chairman, I cast my vote for John A. Logan." [Laughter and great applause.]

MR. CARSON—Mr. Chairman, this is the first time the gentleman has agreed with me. [Renewed laughter.] I cast my vote for John A. Logan.

At the end of the roll-call New York was again called upon to cast her vote. Mr. Curtis announced the vote as follows:

“One vote for Foraker, six votes for Gresham, sixty votes for John A. Logan.”

The crowd then broke forth into loud and prolonged uproar, the band playing the “Star Spangled Banner,” while the Chairman sought to restore order. When order had been partially restored, Mr. Winston, of North Carolina, addressed the Chair as follows :

“Mr. Chairman, I move that the nomination of Mr. Logan be made unanimous.”

THE CHAIRMAN—The question now is, Shall the nomination be made unanimous?

It was carried.

MR. HUSTED, of New York—Mr. Chairman, I move that the thanks of this convention be tendered to the temporary and permanent officers of the convention for the faithful performance of the duties which have been placed upon them.

Which was carried, and amid the most hearty enthusiasm, at 9.45 P. M., the great convention stood adjourned *sine die*.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PRESS AND THE PEOPLE.—VOX POPULI.

“The noblest motive is the public good.”

VIRGIL.

EMORY A. STORRS: We have at the head of the ticket a man who is the spirit of independent and genuine Republicanism made manifest in the flesh. We have a man who believes in the dignity of our existence and in the necessity of preserving and maintaining it. We have a man who believes in giving no insults to any individual or Power, and will tamely submit to no Power under God's heavens. [Applause.] We have a man who believes that this continent belongs to us, and all of it. [Applause.] We have a man who believes in the protection of our large and multiplied industries; a man who believes, and believes it in his soul, that the producer is more worthy than the product, and that the policy of our government is not the cheap shoe, but the prosperous and happy shoemaker. We have a man who believes that the Nation, when it makes any promise, must keep it, and if that promise be a protection to the citizen, it must protect that citizen wherever he may be, even at the cost of war. [Applause.] We have a man at the head of our ticket who believes that a national engagement means something solid and solemn, and that underneath the stars no man resting under the flag on any foot of ground shall

have his right to vote challenged and the counting of that vote as cast questioned. We have a man who believes—supported by another man who believes—that the spirit of our institutions stands proudly enthroned among the stars, and that, when the poorest and humblest citizen is insulted and outraged in his rights, that spirit will come down with sword and shield, take the quivering and trembling black man by the hand, lead him safely through the files of the enemy until he can vote, and speak, and think as he pleases. [Applause.] This is our platform. These are our candidates. Your second choice, selected with a unanimity almost marvelous in great conventions of this character, had every trace of Democratic blood fired out of him when the first shot exploded upon the walls of Sumter. From that time to this, undeviating, unwavering, and unfaltering, there has never been a Republican idea of which John A. Logan has not been a vigorous and aggressive, an eloquent, and a courageous champion. [Applause.] We have the real spirit of the fiber of the party embodied and illustrated by this great ticket. We have a platform broad enough for every citizen to stand upon.

NEW YORK *Tribune*: James G. Blaine has been nominated by the people, and will be elected by the people. For a quarter of a century no other candidate has been more clearly preferred by the voters. Patronage had no part in his nomination. Even in the hour of their defeat his opponents did not attribute his success to any unworthy influence. By them it was admitted, as it must be admitted by all, that the people desired the nomination of Mr. Blaine. Mr. Blaine is the strongest candidate the Repub-

lican party could have nominated, because he best represents its convictions. The name of Mr. Blaine had been so identified with the economic policy which the Republican party holds most dear that the popular preference for him, at a time when that policy was threatened by a Democratic majority in Congress, was exceedingly natural. The nomination of General Logan for Vice-president was also especially fortunate. He has great strength at the West, and with the soldiers everywhere, and his name will kindle the enthusiasm of Republicans at the South. The ticket can not be beaten.

CHICAGO *Tribune*: No living American statesman ever filled the hearts of the people more completely than Blaine does. The martyrdom of Lincoln and Garfield has won for them a peculiar veneration which no man in life can hope to attain, but Blaine has reached the highest place in public esteem. He is admired as the most brilliant statesman of his day; he is loved for his warm nature; his Americanism is so broad, bold, and spirited that it has won the applause of his political opponents. The elevation of such a man to the Chief Magistracy will be a matter of pride to every patriotic American citizen. The same universal admiration which pushed him into nomination will achieve his election.

If a *plebiscite* of the Republican party could have been ordered on the nomination, Blaine would have received four million out of the five million Republican votes against all other candidates. The opposition to him came from the shoulder-straps; the rank and file were nearly all for him, and it is the rank and file which furnish the votes on election-

day. The same popular sentiment which has nominated him will elect him. Any resentment among the politicians born of chagrin just at this moment will vanish into thin air before the steady march of popular feeling. No man who is at heart with the Republican party can hold out against the masses of the party. Those who have worked against Blaine will be influenced by the prompt and cordial tender of hearty support made by President Arthur the very moment it became evident that Blaine would be nominated. This example will be imitated with a contagion which will sweep through all factions and extend from Maine to California. Maine will start the ball in September, Ohio will keep it moving in October, and it will grow into an avalanche in November, to which every Northern State, and at least West Virginia and Delaware among the Southern States, will contribute its strength.

Blaine, in addition to all his personal claims, is the legitimate successor to the popular confidence which Garfield's brief administration inspired. Blaine and Garfield were closely united in personal and political sympathy. Blaine, as Garfield's Premier, was almost as conspicuous a figure as Garfield himself, and he was the originator of a continental American policy which was the most striking and brilliant conception of Garfield's administration. Had Garfield lived, neither Blaine nor his friends would have disputed his right to a renomination under the precedents which reward a successful and popular President with a second term; but Garfield's death left Blaine his natural heir to the glory of his administration. It is no reflection upon President Arthur that he was not able under the circumstances to capture the

people from Blaine; it would have been strange if he could have done so. The people have chosen their leader and raised their banner. They will march on to victory under the Plumed Knight as surely and steadily as the Blaine army in the convention proceeded to the nomination, gathering new strength at every step. No Presidential candidate ever had a better assurance of election than Blaine has to-day, unless it was General Jackson or Thomas Jefferson.

CINCINNATI *Commercial Gazette*: James G. Blaine is the Henry Clay of his age and generation, with the personal fascination and charm of Clay, with all his fine audacity and more than his political prudence. It was an unwise letter that defeated Clay forty years ago, and not the power or the malice of his enemies, or the mistakes of his friends. We are sure of a glorious candidate in Blaine. The more we hear from him the better, and we are likely to hear very much. The magnetic storm which has raged in Chicago for a week, and broke forth there in an illumination that like the northern lights, shone over the skies, will overspread the country, from the lakes to the gulf and sea to sea. It will quicken the whole people of the United States and brighten their public life to elect Blaine President, and the safety and splendor of his administration will solidify Republicanism at home, and lift the great Republic still higher among the Nations of the earth. . . . Not only has the majority of the party clearly declared for Blaine, but the enthusiasts, in urging the nomination, have everywhere been the brightest and the foremost in the party service.

MURAT HALSTEAD: There is potentiality in the names of Blaine and Logan, and those who think the Republican party,

embattled under its chosen leader, can be overthrown with the aid of personalities, in cartoons and squibs, that the Democratic party may be enabled to make, with its head shaken by paralysis, and its hands stained with murder, are mistaken. The Republican party was never so strong as now, and the Democratic party never had less to show the people in the way of reasons for trusting it with our weightiest public affairs.

If there is a possibility of beating Blaine, it is because New York is European rather than American, and I do not concede that there is enough of that to overpower the man who represents the height and the breadth of American policy and politics. If the Democrats gather strength so as to seriously threaten the defeat of Blaine and Logan, there will be such a campaign as never yet has shaken this country. If it were not for the votes of the Solid South, there would be no more chance for the defeat of Blaine and Logan than there would have been to beat Blaine in either of the three latest National Republican Conventions; if the delegation had been made up in the several States according to the Republican strength.

PHILADELPHIA *Times*: He will be the master spirit, the leader of leaders, in his own campaign. The party will follow him with the devotion and enthusiasm of the army that bore the eagle of France when Napoleon marched for Moscow, and even in defeat he would be worshiped by the rank and file as was the man of destiny after Russia and Elba. He will start the contest of 1884 with spontaneous energy in every section of the country. He will carry Ohio in October, even with German prejudices strongly against him. He will disturb Democratic confidence in West Virginia, the other

important October State, and he will be likely to recall California and Nevada from their Democratic diversion of 1880 to join Oregon in a solid Republican electoral vote on the golden slope of the Pacific.

BOSTON Journal: It is sufficient for us, as members of the Republican party, to know that Mr. Blaine is to lead the party in the coming campaign. He is to stand upon a platform which was adopted by the Republican delegates, and to give him, therefore, as the accepted leader, cordial support, is a duty which every Republican owes to the party. Of the election of Mr. Blaine there is very little question. The campaign thus far has shown his wonderful strength with the people. We confess that the spontaneous movement for Mr. Blaine at the West is something unprecedented. No effort on his part was made to secure delegates. They flocked to his banner as soon as it was raised at Chicago. And his supporters are not political adventurers of the noisy element which is found in every party. They represent the best type of Americans and the strongest Republicanism. In this State there is a feeling of opposition to Mr. Blaine, which makes it more difficult for many Republicans to admit that his supporters are among the ablest and most conscientious men in their respective communities. This we shall come to understand and appreciate as the contest proceeds. We do not underrate the disadvantages incident to a campaign under his leadership, but we must not lose sight of the assurance given at Chicago, that he possesses a following greater than that of any other man in the party. He is the choice of the Republican convention—honestly and fairly nominated, and as such will receive the cordial support of

the men who have voted for Lincoln, Grant, Hayes and Garfield.

PHILADELPHIA Ledger: As a student of American political history under the Constitution of the United States, there is probably no man better versed and very few so well. This knowledge has not been wholly acquired through his contact with public affairs in the House of Representatives, the Senate, and the State Department, but has been supplemented by extensive reading. In these respects, of large experience in our public affairs and acquired knowledge of our political history, it is quite probable that he is more amply equipped for the Presidential office than any nominee heretofore presented to the people by his party. What his supreme ability in debate is, and of what high character is his intellectual force, are matters within the common knowledge of all who know anything of the affairs of the Federal Government; and so, too, of his party courage and devotion, and his intense patriotism as an American. His party, considering it as the lineal successor of the old Whig organization, has had no such brilliant, forcible, and popular champion since the days of Henry Clay. His nomination must be accepted everywhere, abroad as well as at home, as that of one of the foremost among living American statesmen; and if he should be elected, no one can reproach the people of the United States as having gone to the subordinate ranks of their public men for the Chief Executive of their country.

PHILADELPHIA Press: Any other nomination would have caused a disappointment to the Republican masses so deep as to be closely akin to resentment. There never was any doubt about Mr. Blaine's nomination except that which arose

from the fear that the representatives of the Republican voters in convention might disregard the will of the people. The number of those who carried their opposition to Mr. Blaine to such length constituted but a small fraction of the convention, and represented an altogether insignificant fraction of the Republican party. The nominee of the convention will have the support of the whole party; and now, with such a candidate claiming their suffrages, it will be impossible for any portion of the people to be indifferent. Those on whom the party ties sit lightly, and those who ordinarily neglect the privileges of suffrage, will be drawn to the support of Blaine by the irresistible attraction of his strong personality and by the conviction which none can escape, that of all our public men he is pre-eminently fit for the office of President of the United States. The convention could not have made a nomination which would have been as acceptable to the Republican masses or which would have made its success in November nearly as certain or as easy as it will now be. The nomination of John A. Logan for Vice-president rounds out to grand proportions the ticket so grandly led by Blaine. Patriot, Congressman, soldier, senator, and always bold, brave, and aggressive, John A. Logan's name is inseparably associated with the history of the heroic period of the Republican party, and his appearance at the front of the campaign of 1884 will be a bugle call to the impulses which found their fruitage in a reconstructed Union and an emancipated Republic. It is a happy circumstance and one full of good omen that the two States which put forth the ticket which lifted the Republican party to favor in 1860 are again to the front in 1884, with the

order of honors reversed, it is true, but a combination worthy in all true senses of the succession of Lincoln and Hamlin.

PHILADELPHIA *Inquirer*: The contest was one which was distinctly drawn between the people on one side and the federal office-holders upon the other. The people won, the office-holders lost, and the entire host of the postmasters, tide-waiters, and gaugers were sent to the rear. The victory was a double one inasmuch as it not only placed in nomination the most popular leader of the rank and file of the Republican party, but that it did not place in nomination one whose nomination would have been synonymous with irretrievable disaster. The country, and especially the Republican party, has reason to congratulate itself not only upon the success of Mr. Blaine, but as well upon the defeat of Mr. Arthur, whose candidacy represented all that was repellent to sincere, patriotic Republicans. His supporters were chiefly federal office-holders, the major part of them representing those "rotten boroughs" of the South without a single electoral vote, which claimed like representation with the great Republican States of the North from which are to come all the electoral votes for the Republican ticket. Can Mr. Blaine be elected? Yes, if any Republican can. The popular enthusiasm which his name evokes proves that he can carry New York and Ohio, the crucial States, and he is probably the one Republican leader who, being nominated, could be elected without the vote of New York. There were enough doubtful States before the convention without New York. They are so few now as to make the vote of New York no longer necessary. The status of the States of the Pacific Slope and of the South-west, which were all doubtful, are now all

certain for Blaine and victory. His is a name to win with. The campaign will be a crusade; the election a triumphal march of the first choice of the people to the Presidency of the great Republic.

PROVIDENCE *Star*: The announcement of the nomination of James G. Blaine on the fourth ballot at Chicago, yesterday afternoon, was received with more enthusiastic demonstration of joy than would have been manifested upon the success of either of the other candidates, and to-day the country enters upon a presidential campaign which will be memorable in the political history of the Nation for the aggressive vigor with which it will be prosecuted by the Republicans. The ticket nominated at Chicago yesterday must be elected. We have thought that it would be easy to nominate some other candidate on a conviction that some one else, against whom less animosity has been aroused, might more easily secure the electoral vote of certain doubtful States; but the National Convention, representing the Republican voters of the whole country, has decided differently, and we hold it now to be the duty of every man who believes that the great principles of the Republican party ought to triumph to fall into line and give the ticket the most hearty and effective support in his power.

ST. LOUIS *Call*: Our candidate is "the tattooed man." So his calumniators call him; so will his opponents in this campaign call him; so will we call him. When, in the sixteenth century, the people of Holland, oppressed by Spanish tyranny, sought of the Princess Margaret an amelioration of their condition, they were called by the premier at the Palace, *Geux* (Beggars). Stung by the reproach, but

glorying in their cause, the people took up the name. "Long live the Guex!" they cried. Almost ere the sun had set the name became the password of liberty, the battle-cry of freedom, the terror of the oppressors, and the "Guex" threw off and trampled on the Spanish yoke. They have called him "the tattooed man." So let it be; the word of reproach shall be a word of honor. The word of envy shall be a title of glory. He is a tattooed man. The wounds of the fore front of every battle for the people's rights during the last quarter of our century have left their marks upon him. He is tattooed with every thing that is highest and noblest and dearest in our history. The preservation of the union of the States, the redemption of national credit, the defeat of the rebels in war, and the more dangerous traitors in peace—with all these is this leader tattooed. Tattooed with this, and more, tattooed with a genius that is marvelous; tattooed with a magnificence as a leader, with generosity as an opponent, with wisdom as a statesman; tattooed with a list of deeds in public life that in spite of calumny mark him a great, true, noble man.

ST. LOUIS *Globe-Democrat*: Yesterday Mr. Blaine was simply an individual to be passed upon for a certain use and object; to-day he stands not for himself any longer, but for the heroic and potent organization that has declared him to be its leader of leaders and its brightest champion. His personality has ceased to be a question for Republicans to dispute about or to deal with otherwise than as the verdict in his favor requires. He passed the sort of scrutiny that is decisive and complete, and he is the embodiment now of those beliefs and hopes, those doctrines and purposes, by

virtue of which the party has achieved all its glories in the past, and upon which depend all its chances of prolonged existence and usefulness. There can be no difference and no ground of controversy about Republican principles nor about the desirability of vindicating and maintaining them. The fate of those principles is bound up with the fortune which shall come to the man who has been selected to specify them and to hold the position of foremost honor in the great impending struggle for their continued application to the affairs of the government and the interests of the people. There is no room, therefore, for any thing but loyalty and good faith, and no time to be wasted in regrets, or grumbling, or lukewarmness. There seemed to us to be reasons why some other man would have proved stronger, partially in doubtful and vital localities, but we must have judged mistakenly. It is certain, at least, that the sober, average, conclusive opinion of the Republican party is not only that he is the most fit and deserving man, all things considered, who could be put into the field, but that he can be and will be elected. He owes his nomination to a convention representing the best thought and feeling, aspiration and conscience, of the American people, and the verdict of such a body, rendered in tones so emphatic and so enthusiastic, is not to be criticised or sulked over or appealed from. The obligation of all Republicans, whatever may have been their views in the contest just closed, is plain and definite, and that is to accept the action of the convention in a cheerful spirit and with a hearty and determined purpose to carry the old flag again to victory over the obstinate and pestilent influences of the party that lies eagerly in wait for a chance to change,

undo, and dishonor, as far as possible, the wonderful story of the last twenty-five years of national progress. There is no room to claim that Mr. Blaine's selection was the result of a sudden impulse, or a mere stroke of good luck.

WASHINGTON *Republican*: "As you are the nominee of the Republican party you will have my earnest and cordial support."—*Chester A. Arthur*. These magnanimous and noble words, uttered by President Arthur to James G. Blaine by telegram to Augusta immediately after the news had arrived that the latter had defeated the former for the presidential nomination, express the sentiments which should inspire every Republican from this day to the election in November. The question is not one of men, but of measures, not a personal issue, but one of policy. Shall the Republican party, with its principles of free speech, individual sovereignty, protection of home and industry, and the laboring man, govern the nation from 1885 to 1889, or shall the Bourbon Democracy dominate the country, suppressing freedom and free utterances, trampling upon individuals, submitting to the rule of a few arrogant and antiquated negro-haters, and sacrificing the diversified occupations and the comfort and prosperity of the American workmen to give profits to the English, French, and German manufacturers who employ only pauper workmen and pay them only starvation wages? Before this issue men are nothing, principles are every thing. President Arthur, known to be wise, considerate, patriotic, sure of the electoral vote of New York, would have been the best candidate. No doubt would for a moment have been felt concerning his election. But James G. Blaine has been fairly nominated. The supreme duty of every patriot is to labor for his election.

Magnetism and enthusiasm will not do the work. But such loyalty to the party as President Arthur has manifested, followed by earnest and cordial labor, will give success. There is no excuse for bolting. The Independents who voted for Edmunds could have nominated Arthur instead of Blaine. They preferred the latter, and nominated him by their persistency. If any men are bound to support Mr. Blaine, George William Curtis, Andrew D. White, Theodore D. Roosevelt are thus committed, for to them he owes his nomination in a fair convention. Let them now rally grandly and nobly to his support, and give him the victory. President Arthur has shown his self-sacrifice and devotion to the party of freedom and progress. Let these pure and heroic idealists, proud of their defeat of Clayton and their nomination of Blaine, throw their souls into the great contest before the people and give victory in November to the ticket of Blaine and Logan.

PORTLAND *Oregonian*: When great men find themselves in the midst of their greatest responsibilities they always develop their greatest wisdom. This is axiomatically true, and this is what will take Mr. Blaine out of and above the faults we have found in him. This is the hope; at least, our belief. The men who look for an overturning jingo policy, as some of Mr. Blaine's acts in the past would seem to indicate, will find themselves most sadly disappointed. Blaine is the choice of the convention and of the people. Let us look at his strength as it appears after this grand display at Chicago. He is the prime representative of what is possible to a man in this country who has the greatness to harbor great ambitions and brains to sustain himself at every step upwards.

Two previous conventions have said to him his time had not come, and he has by his persistent will said to the country, "My time will come." It has come, and he will be elected. The average voter, Republican or Democrat, regards him as already made President, waiting only the formalities of November. Oregon is delighted at the selection.

SAN FRANCISCO *Chronicle*: Blaine is the man who as President will do more to make this country and its citizens respected than has ever been done since the foundation of the government. Unless we much mistake his mettle, with this man at the helm we shall have no slipshod, shilly-shally, back-down-and-swallow-insult foreign policy. We count upon his election as an event as sure as any thing in the future can be. As for this coast, every Pacific State will cast its vote, for Blaine and Logan.

SAN FRANCISCO *Bulletin*: The whole atmosphere of Chicago has been Blaine. The platform that was adopted before the nomination was made was Blaine all over. It would have been perfectly ridiculous to have placed any other candidate upon it. We want a strong government. Mr. Blaine will give it to us. Continued prosperity can not be secured without protection. Mr. Blaine is one of the oldest exponents of the system. A new and insidious form of slavery in the form of coolie contract labor threatens us. Mr. Blaine understands the question in all its details. We believe that Blaine will be elected. We can assume beforehand that his administration will be brilliant and successful. His nomination will excite the greatest joy all over the country.

OHIO *State Journal*: The selection of Mr. Blaine at Chi-

cago as the standard-bearer of his party was born in enthusiasm and consummated in a grand climax of popular demand. This sentiment among the people was very strong months ago. It never abated, but kept on growing till it was able to overcome the field in the National Convention. There was at no time a stampede for Blaine. He led on the first ballot, and continued to climb up until he had two-thirds of the whole number of votes on the fourth ballot. He never lost the votes that once came to him, but by a steady pull attained the nomination in the midst of the greatest demonstration ever held on the continent. The vast assemblage of ten thousand people went wild when it knew that he was the winner in a race that had been so fair and creditable. The end reached is not only satisfactory, but what is better, it has been reached in a most satisfactory way. There was no accident about the selection, nor was it that of a man with a "record of obscurity," as George William Curtis called it.

General Logan's career has been a brilliant one alike in military and in civil life. Commanding a division under Grant in the siege of Vicksburg, and later the Fifteenth Army Corps, and, on the death of McPherson, the Army of the Tennessee, he distinguished himself on many a battlefield by his dash and military skill. The surviving soldiers of the war know General Logan, and his name will revive the glorious memories of many a well-fought field. It will also kindle the enthusiasm of the veterans wherever they are found, and be a watchword of victory around the Republican camp-fires in the political conflict now impending. Probably no two men could have been associated together

who combine in themselves such varied and powerful elements of personal popularity as James G. Blaine and John A. Logan. But they are not only popular men—they are men of brains, men of public experience, men whom the Democratic party may be challenged to match. The ticket and the platform are invincible.

HARTFORD *Courant*: Mr. Blaine has been a conspicuous party leader for twenty years; he has taken part in all the great civil struggles of the period; he has won his way to the front rank of leadership by native ability and splendid acquirements; he has made hosts of devoted friends, resembling Henry Clay in the respect of an idolizing personal following, and he has made bitter personal enemies; but that he is the choice of a majority of the Republican party there is no room for doubt, and the enthusiasm for him carried him to his triumph. With his great capacities, Mr. Blaine has faults plain to see, but the arguments against Mr. Blaine's candidacy are answered by the tremendous enthusiasm that has borne him to his position. We have not to deal with an unknown man of an unknown cause.

COLUMBUS *Dispatch*: The platform of the National Republican Convention is an avowal of Republican doctrine which can not fail to please the party. It is frank and perspicuous on every point that it touches. When there is anything to be said it is put clearly and forcibly, without circumlocution or any apparent desire to hide intentions behind a specious verbiage. There is no hedging in the tariff plank. It denounces the theory of tariff "for revenue only," and demands the imposition of such duties on foreign imports as shall afford security to our diversified industries

and protection to the rights and wages of the laborers, and pledges the party to correct the inequalities of the tariff and to reduce the surplus by such methods as shall relieve the taxpayer without injury to the laborer. The wool industry receives its proper recognition and a promise of a readjustment of duties that will give it full and adequate protection. This is comprehensive and satisfactory. It accurately represents the position of the Republican party on the important tariff question. It recognizes the necessity of caution in the adjustment of duties, and repudiates the idea that the party, when it has made a false step, is self-willed and headstrong to such an extent as to deny its error and refuse to correct it. The wool-tariff clause is all that the men engaged in the industry could have expected. The clauses against the importation of foreign contract labor, in favor of national aid to education, and against the acquisition of large tracts of land by non-resident aliens are all in the interest of the citizens in poor or moderate circumstances; nor are they hypocritical bids for votes, but honest declarations of party purpose. It is for the people to say whether these purposes shall be given the opportunity of fruition.

TOLEDO Telegram: In James G. Blaine we have a candidate against whom every kind of political warfare has been exhausted. He has been assaulted in the party and out of it. His record has been examined with the microscope and the telescope. The worst and meanest possible to say of him has been said. There is nothing new which the most malignant jackal of the opposition can resurrect from the relics of the past. If James G. Blaine is not the next

President of the United States it will be because the Great Commoner is not wanted. This time we have neither a giraffe ticket nor a dark-horse ticket. We have at both ends the strongest and best men of the party—stronger than any other combination of men that could have been made—James G. Blaine and John A. Logan. We are content beyond words. The Republican party has never gone into a contest better equipped for victory. It has the strongest platform ever written and the strongest men of the party to stand up for it. The air is magnetic with the thrill of triumph.

OMAHA *Republican* : The people have triumphed. Blaine has triumphed, and in the victory of such a man is to be found the gratification of a Nation's tribute to the great heart, the noble intellect, and the pure, devoted life of a thorough statesman. Republicanism is born again, under the leadership of the best exponent of our national progress, and the first American of his time; the people are rallying to a new victory. Our platform is as bold and as aggressive as our candidate. No prominent man in the United State save Blaine could stand upon that platform with perfect consistency.

WHEELING *Intelligencer* : After years of hopeless combat with an opponent physically our superior, West Virginia stands at the masthead of a new era. The nomination of James G. Blaine for President will complete the work so happily begun within our own borders, and the mountain State will be wrested from our Bourbon domination and again placed where she belongs—in the ranks of the Republican States. The State needs the moral influence of that

position more than the Republican party needs her support. She must shake off the shackles and move on to the march of progress politically and industrially. Her mines, her factories, her flocks, and her workshops need the fostering care of Republican protection. Her children need the enlightenment of Republican education, the State needs Blaine. The Democrats affect to ridicule the idea of Republican victory in West Virginia. So did they affect to ridicule the idea of the election of Goff to Congress, but he was elected, and just as easily, just as surely, can we redeem the whole State with the prestige Blaine and Logan will give us.

CLEVELAND *Herald*: The voice of the Republican people has been heard and heeded. That voice has been ringing out Blaine, of Maine. The convention's roar was but a faint echo of the people's voice. Not the convention, but the people made Blaine the nominee. For the convention to have rejected him would have been a defiance of the clearly expressed wish of the Republican voters. It would have been at once a blunder and a crime. Wild as was the enthusiasm which swept that great assemblage off its feet at the announcement of the people's favorite, it was but a public indication of the tremendous wave of enthusiastic energy whose resistless tide will carry all before it this Fall and bear Blaine in triumph into the White House next March. His history as a public man is that of the Republican party and the Nation. He is a typical American. It would have been impossible to make a nomination that would be better received in Ohio, or that would exercise a stronger influence for good on the fortunes of the Republican party in this

State at the coming elections. In Northern Ohio, especially, Blaine is the popular idol. His intimate association with Garfield, and the part he bore in the tragic events of the closing months of the martyred President's life completely won their hearts. He became the natural heir to the affection they bore the deeply-loved and cruelly-lost Garfield. No man could so stir the hearts of the people of Ohio, particularly in the Republican strongholds, and bring out the Republican vote to the last man, as James G. Blaine, the personal friend, the devoted adherent, the political other self of the martyred President, James A. Garfield. His nomination insures a sweeping victory in October and a crowning triumph in November.

TOPEKA Capital: No man in America will inspire more zeal and a greater degree of enthusiasm in the Republican party than he who yesterday received the nomination for the Presidency. There is something so American about the man. The masses love him. He has grown up among the people a conspicuous specimen of healthy, vigorous manhood. In all the details of public affairs he is as well equipped as any man now living. Mr. Blaine is a model American. He believes that the people of the United States form a Nation; that the people are more interested in their own affairs than in those of other nations; that we are capable of adopting our own policies and protecting our own interest. Springing from the common people, he knows the wants of humble homes. He is a man of the Garfield type. He is friendly, social, generous, big-hearted, manly, and frank. With such a man and with such a platform the Republican party will achieve success.

PITTSBURGH *Commercial Gazette*: In thus honoring Blaine the convention has done an act which will meet the hearty approval of the great body of Republicans all over the country. It has made success certain beyond the possibility of a doubt, and will infuse a vigor and spirit into the campaign which will be irresistible. He is the popular leader in the country to-day, and will arouse greater enthusiasm, inspire a higher degree of confidence, and command a larger support in those States which must be depended on for Republican Electors, than any other man who could have been named. Ohio, Connecticut, and California have been taken at once out of the list of doubtful States. New York and Indiana will rally to the standard of Blaine and Logan with an alacrity and enthusiasm which will take the sting from any latent opposition within the party. The prestige of his name will give the party a fighting chance in Virginia, West Virginia, and Florida, and if proper efforts are made in the South, two or three States rated as "solid" may be captured. The nomination of General Logan for second place is one which will commend itself to general approval. It is a recognition of the soldier element, which will be fully approved and balance the geographical claims of the two great sections with satisfactory precision.

PITTSBURGH *Dispatch*: Viewing the matter solely with relation to the November verdict, it is scarcely to be questioned that Blaine's nomination will draw all of force and fire there is in the Republican party. It has been charged that he must assume the defensive on account of past mistakes; but while he has, like all other public men, some of these to his account, it will be well to bear in mind that

those who have attacked Mr. Blaine have generally caught a Tartar. There is positively nothing in the intimation that the business interests of the country fear him. On the contrary, in so far as he is more progressive and active than his contemporaries, the business interests may fairly expect that under his administration the development of the great natural resources of the country would go on with quickened energy. The American people will all the time prefer a live man working within fair and honest limitation to an aristocratic figure-head or an intellectual mummy.

INDIANAPOLIS *Times*: In the nominees of the Chicago Convention the country can repose confidence. Their records are well known. In Congress, James G. Blaine has given his high talents and his great eloquence in the support and defense of the principles of the party. He has been foremost in every encounter. His talents, his genius, and his powers have so impressed themselves upon the party, that notwithstanding two defeats that would have crushed a man of smaller caliber, he has again entered the field and wrested the victory even from a President whose course has been so universally commended. He was the choice of a majority of the Republicans of Indiana, and the action of its delegates in casting its united vote for him will be ratified in November.

MINNEAPOLIS *Journal*: The prophecy of the early morning was fulfilled ere the afternoon had grown old. James G. Blaine, of Maine, was nominated on the fourth ballot. The nomination creates unbounded enthusiasm. Blaine will make a roaring, hip-hip-hurrah campaign, and will doubtless be elected over any man the Democrats can put up. There

is one advantage this time—we don't have to explain who our candidate is. Everybody knows him. His record is familiar to all, and upon it he must stand or fall. That he will stand by a large majority and be our next President are the indications of the hour.

HARRISBURG *Telegraph*: A united North will greet the people's choice. Blaine, of Maine, will be our next President. Defeated and dismayed, his detractors will spit their venom, but the people will properly answer the scandal by their enthusiastic indorsement. The Plumed Knight will lead his hosts to assured victory. The cheer that greeted his nomination will be continued until the 4th of March, 1885.

BALTIMORE *American*: Blaine is the choice of the people. His nomination is a victory of the people over the politicians. A great enthusiasm formed itself spontaneously in the hearts of Republicans, and burst like a huge wave over the petty dykes that hostile factions and official discipline had built up against it. Blaine has been the object of the keen attacks of enemies without and within the party. He has had for years to meet calumny and detraction, and to see his good work evil spoken of. Base motives have been ascribed by malice to his noblest actions. His genius has been underrated, his popularity underestimated, and yet there is something about the man that makes the people love him. Twice had the popular voice called him to the nomination, and twice had the politicians thwarted its will. But now the voters rose with a power not to be withstood, and made him their candidate. His nomination unites the party as none other could. The third-term party, defeated four years ago, now disappears.

Its leaders are now Blaine men. Not since Grant's first term has the Republican party been so united as now. Not since Lincoln's second term has any leader been so beloved. The value of this personal popularity can hardly be overrated, in the close States. New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and New Jersey have sometimes suffered themselves to go Democratic, but by default. This has always happened at periods of discontent with the Republican party management. But on a full vote these States are Republican. Blaine's popularity will bring out a fuller party vote than could have been brought out by any other leader. It has been given to only a few Americans to excite affection of this sort. Andrew Jackson, Henry Clay, and Abraham Lincoln are among the few who have enjoyed public esteem and love as James G. Blaine does. The campaign of calumny and abuse has already begun. The ashes of old accusations will be raked over in the hope of kindling anew the fires of persecution and slander. But this will avail nothing. Envenomed slander did its worst against Garfield, but it did not hurt him. It can not hurt Blaine.

• *ALBANY Evening Journal*: As we write the electric wires are pulsating with tidings which thrill the hearts of Republicans throughout the land. The Republican party, invincible as the exponent of progressive ideas and courageous actions, will be worthily led by the man whom it has honored with its approval this day. All citizens who desire that this country shall stand before the world as a Nation, great and benignant in its might, as the robust type of successful government by and for the people, will heartily approve the nomination of the illustrious statesman from Maine. If the Republican party has yet a mission to fulfill, it has shown

wisdom in the selection of a candidate who has been unswerving in obedience to its decisions and powerful in championship of its settled policies. If there is need of honesty, vigor, leadership, and capacity in the chief executive, those qualities will be supplied in the triumphal election of that candidate to the office of President.

ILLINOIS *State Journal*: James G. Blaine will be the next President of the United States. This is the will of the Republic, and this foregone conclusion rests in the fact that no other man lies so near the hearts of the American people as the Maine statesman. His devotion to the whole body of Republican doctrines is as unimpeachable as was that of either of our immortal martyr Presidents, and to this fealty he adds unequalled courage, discretion, penetration, and decision. What other men require weeks or months to understand he comprehends at a glance. If now the Democrats nominate Tilden, it will simply be a contest between a pigmy and a giant athlete, and nature decides all such contests.

MILWAUKEE *Sentinel*: The Republican Convention nominated James G. Blaine yesterday as its candidate for President of the United States. On the fourth ballot he received a clear majority over all, and his nomination was made unanimous. It is known the *Sentinel* did not favor the nomination of Mr. Blaine, for the reason that it believed there were several other gentlemen urged as candidates equally well qualified and more available, but in the selection of candidates the majority has the right to command, and party organization is unpracticable when that right is denied. It is an undoubted fact that the news of Mr. Blaine's nomination will give greater satisfaction to a majority of the party than would that of any

other man who was proposed as a candidate, and that there are a large number of Republicans who opposed him in the recent contest solely because they questioned his availability, who would be as sincerely gratified by his election to the office of President as the most earnest advocates of his nomination.

DESMOINES *Register*: The convention has nobly answered the popular demand of a strong, magnetic candidate, and the enthusiasm of this campaign will exceed that of 1880, with an equally glorious result.

EX-GOVERNOR CHAS. FOSTER: For once has a great convention registered with fidelity the will of the great mass of the people. While doubt may have existed in the minds of some as to the propriety of Mr. Blaine's nomination, it is apparent he is the choice of four-fifths of the people of the land. Out of office, with no patronage at his command, and without perhaps his own consent, he was nominated by a spontaneity almost unparalleled in the history of the country.

SENATOR HARRISON: I am highly pleased with the nominations. Blaine has great elements of strength; he is strong with the Irish, and will carry the Pacific Slope, New York, and Indiana. The scandalous stories against him are not believed. His own State approved of him, and Garfield gave him his confidence in the most conspicuous manner possible. His foreign policy is approved by every one, conceding that we ought to come in closer relations with the States of South America, and have some of that immense trade which England now enjoys. It was nonsense to think he would involve us in war, and the business of the country has nothing to fear from him. He is sound on all great economic questions.

Of similar literature, the compiler of this chapter has enough in his possession to make a book of probably 3,000 pages. The preceding excerpts are presented to indicate the dominant sentiment from Maine to California, and additions of the same tenor can not strengthen the exhibit. One of the most pathetic expressions is embodied in the following telegram :

CLEVELAND, June 8th.

Hon. JAS. G. BLAINE, Augusta :

Our household joins in one great thanksgiving. From the quiet of our home we send the most earnest wish that through the turbulent months to follow, and in the day of victory, you may be guarded and kept.

LUCRETIA R. GARFIELD.

How suggestive are these simple words, few in number, but deep in their significance. They take us back to the second of July, 1881, when President Garfield was murderously assaulted at the National Capital, and they go with us through that whole pitiful detail of watching and waiting for the grim messenger till he came for the good President, the devoted husband, the loving father, the full embodiment of the noblest work of God, on the twentieth of September following. And although the faithful wife was the chief watcher through all the weary days and nights of this oppressive sadness, there was another whose faithfulness was excelled by only her whose heart bled for the wounds and the peril of her husband. That other watcher was the man of Maine. His sympathy for, and devotion to, Garfield endeared him to the people, and it is not to be wondered at that the widow of the man by whose death the government was bereaved as sorely as was her gentle heart, should be among the first to offer thanks that her husband's intimate

friend and trusted confidant is so soon to succeed him in the highest seat of the Nation.

The expression of the press, of public men and private citizens of his own party, is as cordial for Blaine as it was for Garfield in 1880, with this addition—the enthusiasm of the masses is infinitely more hearty. Those who were hopelessly disappointed at Chicago are few, and they go off upon the inexpediency of the nomination simply because they fear the fearlessness of Blaine in a great national campaign. Fearlessness in political life and action will be at a premium after this year, especially in the United States. It will be found valuable to its possessors. The Republican party, as a whole or as a combination of various parts, has never been for a moment superior to the man they recognized as their leader on the sixth of June, at Chicago. It is true that his brilliancy, his prominence, his success, have excited the envy of some individuals in the Republican ranks, and this is perhaps natural; that is to say, the cause is so great that probably these individuals can not control the promptings of jealousy; but however this may be, it is very certain that they are not strong enough to harm its object. The paper pellets showered upon him by a little junta of “independents,” in New York, fall as harmless as snow-flakes upon a hundred-ton pile-driver; and it is predicted that for every vote he loses in New York, from the beauocracy, he will gain ten from the bone and sinew. It will be found out that in a great political contest, a vote scented with lavender counts no more than one with the flavor of toil upon it, and the intelligent toiler knows his friend in James G. Blaine. He knows that the friend of the people must, perforce, be

the people's friend, and that the overwhelming influence which bore upon the Chicago Convention, and smashed every anti-Blaine movement—even the kid-glove and white necktie cohorts—was the imperative demand of the people for the recognized leadership of the Plumed Knight.

It is unquestionable that the convention nominated the man who is strongest with the people, and that in reality the action of the convention was simply the ratification of the people's will. It is unquestionable that, as a well-known writer graphically states it, the convention "escaped the colossal foolishness of being stampeded, like a head of wild asses of the desert, into a nomination which would surprise the country, and would dissolve party allegiance." It escaped the demoralization of the nomination of an obscure candidate, and brought forward a nominee whose position, talent, and requirements indicate that ability, distinction, and leadership in the party combine in a formidable recommendation for the place at the head of the party.

Weeks before the Chicago Convention it was in the ordinary conversation of intelligent men in all parts of the country, that Blaine would be the nominee. Other candidates had their friends, who were faithful in claiming high qualities and distinguished statesmanship for those preferred, but they were not self-confident, as were the friends of Blaine; and the consciousness that the statesman of the Lumber State was by a large majority the preference of the country soon took possession of the public mind. That in a large degree the wish was father to this consciousness, there is no question, but the public press was not backward in coming to its assistance and furnishing an intelligent echo

of the general sentiment. And in the extracts which make up a goodly portion of this chapter, the press echo is simply continued.

A point worthy of more than passing note was proved at the Chicago Convention, and with an emphasis which demands some patient afterthought. Had the nomination of Blaine depended alone upon the votes of delegates from the Republican States, there would have been no contest. The prize would have been his by an overwhelming majority on the first ballot. His support from these constituencies would have been as spontaneous as the electric flash from the surcharged elements, and as effective in shivering all opposing forces. The strength of President Arthur's candidacy was with the Southern delegates and in the vast patronage of the administration; not to any extent in the National Republican party. Senator Sherman had some strength in his own State; General Logan carried his State delegation, and so did that pure Republican, Hon. Joseph R. Hawley. Senator Edmunds had the warm support of a goodly part of New England and a very pretty slice of New York—and all of these were upon a better basis of support than the following of President Arthur. Yet President Arthur was Blaine's principal rival, and he was readily beaten by the man who had nothing to promise, nothing to give, and who has from the first despised every thing like finesse and strategy as the price of preferment.

It is no part of the object of this work to criticise Republicans in any section of the country, but we have desired to show in a few words how completely the course of Blaine's friends in the convention was and is justified by the

voice of Republican voters; and how much nobler their action proved than any dark-horse strategy that could have been desired, or any action that would have thrust upon the people a candidate they did not want. There was genuine bravery at Chicago, and it was shown in the confident and open tactics of Mr. Blaine's supporters after a style which gives the nomination great distinction. Says Mr. Samuel R. Reed: "Not only does the action of the convention make the leading Republican the leader of this campaign and the official head of the party, but it will have a lasting moral effect on future conventions by killing the base doctrine that the national convention is a slaughter-house for the leaders of the party, and that he who is most popular is the most unlikely to be nominated. It lays out for good the mean assumption that the convention is the place for jockeying tactics to defeat the will of the people by the 'field' of weaklings combining to beat the popular leader. The great principal of natural selection and the survival of the fittest has ruled the event. The strongest leader is put in the lead. The party is marshaled in the natural order for the campaign. Future conventions will be braced up by this precedent in the rule that the leader is not to be sacrificed, but to be nominated."

People and press are enjoying comparisons between Mr. Blaine and Henry Clay. This is in the nature of a compliment to the living great man and to the distinguished dead alike, and at the same time it is suggestive in a political sense. The life and character of Henry Clay should be carefully studied by the youth of America. To those of advanced age they are well known, but our young men can

find nothing more instructive in the way of American biography. His humble childhood and early struggles, his subsequent, long, and brilliant career, his great public services and eminently noble qualities, are all rife with instructive lessons.

From his birth in a Virginia farm-house, amid the conflict of the Revolution, and his entrance, an unfriended youth, into the hardships of a professional life in the West, up to his last exit from the chief council of the Nation; whether uttering the words of eloquence at the bar or in the senate-chamber; whether raising a determined voice for the birth of other republics in the new world, and against the oppression of long-struggling, famished, and down-trodden Greece, or presenting an equally determined front to the encroachments of executive power at home; whether representing the dignity and worth of the American name in a foreign country, or, in our own midst, forming, defending, establishing the great American system of finance; or, by the efforts of an almost despairing eloquence, seeking to save the Republic from dishonor, disunion, and ruin; no one of these, or the many other high stations occupied by him before the public in a long and busy life, did Mr. Clay ever leave with the suspicion of stain upon his character, or without an addition to his honorable fame.

In some things he was greater, because more advanced, than his party; and in this respect Mr. Blaine was like him ten years ago. The party has now overtaken the leader. Mr. Clay was the most brilliant and versatile statesman of his time. His dash, his daring, his clear-sighted comprehension of affairs, and hence, his successes,

excited the jealousy of his compatriots and the intense hatred of his opponents. Herein the comparison holds good again. Mr. Clay was a national man. This statement requires no proof. Neither would a similar statement of Mr. Blaine's position. Mr. Clay was in the best sense an honorable, high-minded man, whom his friends were always ready to trust in his measures, because they were fully convinced of the soundness and elevation of his principles. The confidence Mr. Blaine's friends repose in him could not be more fully described in a sentence. But it is possible that Mr. Blaine has a larger grasp of the public "situation" than was ever enjoyed by Clay, and a more alert prescience of the course of events. However, there is so much to admire in both, and so little to condemn in either, we may rest content with the points of likeness already established.

CHAPTER IX.

BLAINE IN PUBLIC LIFE.

“Who makes by force his merit known,
And lives to clutch the golden keys,
To mould a mighty state’s decrees,
And shape the whisper of the throne:
And moving up from high to higher,
Becomes on fortune’s crowning slope,
The pillar of a people’s hope,
The center of a world’s desire.”

TENNYSON.

IN THE HOUSE.

IN the past twenty-five years the atmosphere of politics has been cleansed, and a vigilant supervision over all departments of the public service encouraged, by the election to Congress of more able and fair-minded men than had immediately, previous to the period named, distinguished that representative body. For the better part, we think, these men have been practical, matter-of-fact individuals, whose rights and duties were not theories, but crystalized facts; whose heroism in their defense sprang from clear conceptions of truth and justice; whose consistency has been treasured as a jewel indeed. Many of them have enjoyed singular felicity in expression and emphasis of truth. This does not mean rhetorical self-elation, nor forensic fisticuffs, nor any trick of words, but that spontaneous welling up of fact and principle which comes in spite of opposition, and

sometimes thrives upon its opposing forces. It rests upon a substratum of that degree of integrity which was tested by one of the Roman emperors. Wishing to place the most worthy of his courtiers in the important offices, he resolved upon an ingenious expedient to ascertain their merits. He pretended that he would banish all those from his presence and court who did not renounce Christianity. A considerable number, in whom the love of place was stronger than religious integrity, renounced Christianity with remarkable promptness. The prince then promoted those who kept firm to their faith and banished the others from his court, saying: "They who are untrue to their God will not be faithful to their prince."

Those public servants who are not governed by integrity will be untrue to their trusts, whenever the occasion promises to gratify their ambition or result in their pecuniary profit. We need not go back to remote ages for examples. It is unnecessary to cite Warren Hastings, or Arthur Görgey, or Benedict Arnold, in proof of the depravity charged. Modern instances are quite too plentiful to need a support from precedent, and, although we can not insist that a public man shall be in advance of his age in the exercise of the higher virtues, we certainly have a right to expect that our law-makers will furnish living examples of obedience to law and order. We have a right to expect from them better examples than were furnished in that era of passion when Charles Sumner was stricken down by a blow from a bludgeon in the hands of a fellow-member of our national Legislature; and, thank God! our government is now in a position to enforce the realization of this expectation, if force ever becomes necessary for such purposes.

Its strength in twenty-five years has increased five thousand fold, divided as follows :

Moral strength,	. . . . .	1,000
Intellectual strength,	. . . . .	1,000
Physical strength,	. . . . .	1,000
Self-respect,	. . . . .	1,000
Respect of the World,	. . . . .	1,000

How has this result been reached? By growth; by the assertion of power long dormant; by a general awakening to the fact that we are a Nation. Thirty years ago we were more strange to ourselves than to the world. We had come into the belief that our institutions were permanently established; that nothing could disturb them; that exertion on our part to ward off dangers which apparently threatened was mere waste of energy; in fact, that we were invulnerable; in effect, that republican institutions were a palladium to protect us against dangers from without and within. Our people had no idea that there were citizens of the Union base enough to defile the ark of republican covenant and break the tables of the organic law—however poisonous the scummy threat that often rose to the surface of debate. Most of these threats were mere vaporings for the occasion, and probably none were more surprised than their utterers when they were partially realized in events. Those who threatened civil war with the greatest show of passion were among the last to believe in the possibility of such a result.

When Mr. Blaine entered the National House, the country was being torn by internecine conflict between two sections without natural geographical division, and having no disagree-

ment except upon one point of Republican doctrine, that the majority should make the laws and direct the government. A considerable faction denied this right upon the question of slavery in the Territories, and upon permitting slavery in new States as they were admitted, and therefore they declared and waged war against the majority, who believed that republican institutions should not be subordinated to any question of expediency, nor, in fact, to any question. In the language of Mr. Seward, this minority represented "the perversion of a temporary and partisan excitement, and an inconsiderate purpose of unjustifiable and unconstitutional aggression upon the rights and the authority vested in the Federal Government." This was a correct view of the insurgents at the beginning of active hostilities, but neighborhood sympathy and coercion all combined to enlarge the forces of the rebel element, and make them more formidable in the field than they had shown themselves in the arena of debate.

Mr. Blaine entered Congress in 1863, at a time when conflicts between the forces of the Union and the Confederacy" were frequent, and in which the palm of victory was about equally divided; or, if there was any difference, it favored the side of disunion. It was just after Gettysburg and Chickamauga. The North was enveloped in gloom as with a pall. Volunteer additions to the army had almost ceased, and an order for heavy conscriptions had been made. The President and the Congress were evidently involved in the perplexities of an obscure problem, for which there was no rule, and no way to a solution except through a miracle. This is the picture the situation presented to people of observation in the autumn and winter of 1863-4, and they looked

to Congress and the President to improve the status. The fact is, neither our army nor our people had, until this epoch, been aggressive enough for the purposes of real warfare. We had been afraid of hurting the people of the South, either in their persons or their sensibilities, and some of our generals had preferred the plan of frightening them into submission by digging entrenchments remote from their positions to ball cartridge at short range, and steel to steel in a charge of cavalry. There had been some desperate fighting, but much of it was like the sham engagements of the old citizen militia on muster days, when perspiration, not blood, was shed in lavish abundance.

So it will be seen that Mr. Blaine entered Congress at a time when aggressive men were in demand—men quick and firm in action, with strong determination, without desultoriness or ambiguity—men who, like Burke, regarded difficulty as “a severe instructor, set over us by the supreme ordinance of a parental guardian and legislator, who knows us better than we know ourselves. He that wrestles with us, strengthens our nerves and sharpens our skill,” says Burke. “Our antagonist is our helper. This conflict with difficulty obliges us to an intimate acquaintance with our object, and compels us to consider it in all its relations.” The truth of these words was proved by the great leaders of the Thirty-eighth Congress, among whom were Ramsey, Morgan, Trumbull, Harlan, Morrill, Garfield, Davis, Sumner, Chandler, Hale, Wade, Sherman, Wilmot, Anthony, Foot, Farnsworth, Ingersoll, Washburne, Colfax, Julian, Orth, Allison, Boutwell, Dawes, Windom, Fenton, Ashley, Schenck, Kelley, Baxter, Wallace, and fifty others scarcely less distinguished.

Mr. Blaine did not essay any of the functions of leadership in this Congress. He was but thirty-three years of age, and, as he expressed it, "felt more like studying his duty first, and then he could perform it with more satisfaction to himself and the country." He proved a good student. The first session of this Congress was largely devoted to the consideration of the abolition of slavery. For the furtherance of this object, it was proposed to submit to the States a Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution. The public mind was ready for it, and anxious to bring to a test the vexed question which had occasioned so much anxiety and bloodshed in the past three years.

Congress and the President had recognized, in the inevitable course of events, that the abolition of American slavery was a foregone conclusion, and on January 1, 1863, the Proclamation of Emancipation had been promulgated. Although it was a surprise to the people, it was greeted at the North by thousands upon thousands as a war measure of most excellent device; whereas, as a measure of peace, these same thousands would have denounced it as an expedient of the most wicked robbery. The President resorted to it with reluctance, and only as a military necessity. He was anxious to compensate the border States for all pecuniary loss it might occasion them, and they, with several designated localities in other slave States, were excepted from the operation of the Proclamation. Mr. Lincoln was one of the most conservative men of his party, and deprecated precipitation in the change of any established order. The first proposition in Congress so to amend the Constitution as to prohibit American slavery, was made by Hon.

James M. Ashley, of Ohio, and zealously advocated by him from the beginning to the date of its final accomplishment. Mr. Blaine earnestly seconded him in speech and vote through the entire contest, and assisted in defeating an opposition at once intelligent and unscrupulous; but the young Congressman was modest, and did not come to the front as a leader for several years. So slight an impression did his appearance make upon Speaker Colfax, at first, that he was placed near the tail of the Military Committee, which was otherwise composed of six generals, fresh from the field, and two Democrats, fresh from their constituents. What an opportunity was that for a civilian who had never smelled gunpowder? The clerk of that committee, now a journalist, relates that the young Congressman from Maine captured his heart without ceremony by his terse, interesting, paragraphy way of talking, and his perfect remembrance of all important political facts in our national history. He told this clerk, in a confidential chat one day, that he meant to get upon the Appropriations Committee in the next Congress, and in the Congress following he hoped to get a chairmanship. Then, he said, he would look forward to the speaker's chair. Observe this evidence of his prescience; for it all came about as he had planned, except that he became Speaker two years sooner than he had thought would be possible. His plans were always made in advance—the full line of his future marked out and faithfully worked up to; hence his systematic performance and distinguished success. In less than two years from the time he thus spoke of the objects of his ambition, he was chairman of the Appropriations Committee, and in four years was speaker of the

House, by the unanimous nomination of the Republican members in caucus.

A brief sketch of Mr. Blaine's position upon the questions which agitated the country immediately succeeding the civil war, and previous to his elevation to the speakership, will furnish the reader with all necessary information regarding the subject of this memoir during the period named. It is scarcely necessary to premise that his positions upon all questions of general interest are positive, and often pronounced, even to the point of aggressiveness. Nobody can charge him with dodging an issue or seeking to evade any responsibility that seemed proper for him to assume. We make the following extracts from his remarks in reply to reflections cast upon the State of Maine by Hon. S. S. Cox, delivered in the House, June 2, 1864 :

“If there be a State in this Union that can say with truth that her federal connection confers no special benefit of a material character, that State is Maine. And yet, sir, no State is more attached to the Federal Union than Maine. Her affection and her pride are centered in the Union, and God knows that she has contributed of her best blood and treasure without stint in supporting the war for the Union ; and she will do so to the end. But she resents, and I, speaking for her, resent the insinuation that she derives any undue advantage from federal legislation, or that she gets a single dollar she does not pay back. . . . I have spoken in vindication of a State that is as independent and as proud as any within the limits of the Union. I have spoken for a people as high-toned and as honorable as can be found in the wide world—many

of them my constituents—who are as manly and as brave as ever faced the ocean's storms. So long, sir, as I have a seat on this floor, the State of Maine shall not be slandered by the gentleman from Ohio, or by gentlemen from any other State.

“A great deal has been said recently in the other end of the Capitol in regard to the fishing bounties, a portion of which is paid to Maine. I have a word to say on that matter, and I may as well say it here. According to the records of the Navy Department, the State of Maine has sent into the naval service since the beginning of this war six thousand skilled seamen, to say nothing of the trained and invaluable officers she has contributed to the same sphere of patriotic duty. For these men the State has received no credit whatever on her quotas for the Army. If you will calculate the amount of bounty that would have been paid to that number of men had they enlisted in the army, instead of entering the navy, as they did without bounty, you will find it will foot up a larger sum than Maine has received in fishing bounties for the past twenty years. Thus, sir, the original proposition on which fishing bounties were granted—that they would build up a hardy and skillful class of mariners for the public defense in time of public danger—has been made good a hundred and a thousand-fold by the experience and the developments of this war.”

On the 21st June he added this further testimony upon the same subject: “The sentiment of Maine is loyal to the core, and she has shown her loyalty by complying with patriotic readiness to all demands thus far made upon her

for soldiers to recruit the army or for sailors to man the navy."

On the same day, June 21, 1864, he spoke upon the Conscription bill, and the following extract will afford a fair idea of the spirit of his remarks :

"A conscription is a hard thing at best, Mr. Speaker, but the people of this country are patriotically willing to submit to one in this great crisis, for the great cause at stake. There is no necessity, however, for making it absolutely merciless and sweeping. I say, in my judgment there is no necessity for making it so, even if there were no antecedent question as to the expediency and practicability of the measure. I believe the law, as it stands, allowing commutation and substitution, is sufficiently effective, if judiciously enforced. It will raise a large number of men by its direct operation, and it will secure a very large amount of money with which to pay bounties to volunteers. . . .

"I can not refrain from asking gentlemen around me, whether in their judgment the pending measure, if submitted to the popular vote, would receive the support of even a respectable minority in any district in the loyal States? Just let it be understood that whoever the lot falls on must go, regardless of all business considerations, all private interests, all personal engagements, all family obligations ; that the draft is to be sharp, decisive, final, and inexorable, without commutation and without substitution, and my word for it, you will create consternation in all the loyal States. Such a conscription was never resorted to but once, even in the French Empire under the absolutism of the first Napoleon ; and for the Congress of the United States to attempt its en-

forcement upon their constituents is to ignore the first principles of republican and representative government."

When the Enrollment bill was under consideration in the House, February 21, 1865, Mr. Blaine moved to amend the second section by adding the following :

" *Provided*, That in any call for troops, no county, town, township, ward, precinct, or election district, shall have credit except for men actually furnished on said call, or preceding call, by said county, town, township, ward, precinct, or election district, and mustered into the military or naval service on the quota thereof."

In favor of this amendment, among other things, Mr. Blaine said : " Throughout the whole country we hear of substitute brokers selling these credits, obtained in some mysterious way, as one would sell town scrip in the market; and from this source has risen a large number of those constructive 'paper credits' against which my amendment is leveled, and which, for the future, it will prevent. It may not be in our power to remedy the wrong practices of the past, but from this time forward we can guard against the repetition of these practices. We can deal with equal and exact justice to all men and to all sections; and above all, we can deal justly by the government in its struggle for existence. In its hour of peril it calls for men—living, active, resolute men, and it is worse than madness to answer this call with any thing else than men.

"Let me say in conclusion, Mr. Speaker, that nothing so discourages and disheartens the brave men at the front as the belief that proper measures are not adopted at home for re-enforcing and sustaining them. Even a lukewarmness or

a backwardness in that respect is enough; but when you add to that the suspicion that unfair devices have been resorted to by those charged with filling quotas, you naturally influence the prejudices and passions of our veterans in the field in a manner calculated to lessen their personal zeal and generally to weaken the discipline of the army. After four years of such patriotic and heroic effort for national unity as the world has never witnessed before, we can not now afford to have the great cause injured or its fair fame darkened by a single unworthy incident connected with it. The improper practices of individuals can not disgrace or degrade the Nation; but after these practices are brought to the attention of Congress, we shall assuredly be disgraced and degraded if we fail to apply the requisite remedy when that remedy is in our power. Let us then, in this hour of triumph to the national arms, do our duty here, our duty to the troops in the field, our duty to our constituents at home, and our duty, above all, to our country, whose existence has been in such peril in the past, but whose future of greatness and glory seems now so assured and so radiant."

During the whole period of reconstruction, Blaine was one of the most active, energetic, and useful members of the House. He was vigorous, but calm; determined, but not acrimonious; urgent in the presentation of fact and argument, but willing to hear and weigh all his opponent had to present. In shaping some of the more important features of the Fourteenth Amendment, particularly that relating to the basis of representation, his efforts were unceasing till they were crowned by success. There are few things more valuable and interesting in the history of Congress than the

deliberations which led to practical reconstruction, and in every phase of these, by word and deed, Mr. Blaine bore a prominent part.

December 10, 1866, he spoke upon, "What the Government Owes Its Subjects." We quote briefly as follows:

"Among the solemn duties of a sovereign government is the protection of those citizens who, under great temptations and amid great perils, maintain their faith and their loyalty. The obligation on the Federal Government to protect the loyalists of the South is supreme, and they must take all needful means to secure that protection. Among the most needful is the gift of free suffrage, and that must be guaranteed. There is no protection you can extend to a man so effective and conclusive as the power to protect himself. And in assuring protection to the loyal citizens, you assure permanency to the government; so that the bestowal of suffrage is not merely the discharge of a personal obligation toward those who are enfranchised, but it is the most far-sighted provision against social disorder, the surest guaranty of peace, prosperity, and public justice."

While Mr. Blaine was absent in Europe, in 1867, there was quite an excitement in various parts of the country over the specious theory of paying the debt of the government in greenbacks—or in other words, taking up one form of obligation by substituting another. Mr. Pendleton in Ohio, and General Butler in Massachusetts, had set this paper ball in motion, and it seemed to be making some headway. Shortly after his return, in the autumn of 1867, at a special adjourned session of Congress, Mr. Blaine attacked the Pendleton-Butler heresy in a speech which showed up the absurdity

of the theory upon which it was based, and the utter folly of calling the means it proposed by the commercial name of payment. This speech is reproduced in another part of the present work, but herewith we submit a shorter effort on the same subject which will be found interesting. It was delivered by Mr. Blaine in the House, March 7, 1868, and is as follows :

“The questions involved in paying off the five-twenty bonds, Mr. Chairman, are surrounded to a considerable extent with gratuitous misrepresentations of heated partisans, and to no small degree, I fear, with honest misapprehensions on the part of those who desire the maintenance of the public credit untarnished and inviolate. Having addressed the House at some length on this subject at the opening of the session, I desire now to add a few words by way of appendix, and possibly of explanation of some errors which are industriously disseminated through the country.

“*First.* Many persons seem to imagine, and many Democratic papers have deliberately stated, that a proposition has been made in Congress to pay off the five-twenty bonds in coin at this time, while gold commands a heavy premium over greenbacks. And on this groundless premise many honest-minded men wax exceeding wrath, and cry out with proper indignation against the bondholder having gold when the pensioner, the soldier, and the day-laborer have to take greenbacks for what is due to them. Now, to all persons afflicted with this error, let me say that no man in Congress has been fool enough or knave enough to propose that the five-twenties be paid in gold *a single day before the greenbacks shall be paid in gold likewise.* The man who holds a greenback holds the

government obligation to pay in gold just as much as a man who holds a five-twenty bond, and it would be just cause of complaint if the government should anticipate the payment of the five-twenties in gold before it is ready to pay the greenback in gold also. The first series of the five-twenties will not fall due until May, 1882, more than fourteen years from this time. Long before that date is reached we shall be on specie-paying basis, and every holder of a greenback will be able to secure gold for it at his option, and then there will no longer be any objection to paying the bondholder in gold also. Nor, indeed, on the other hand, will the bondholder then object to being paid in greenbacks, as the two kinds of currency will then be convertible and co-equal.

“Second. Those who clamor for paying off the five-twenties in greenbacks at this time, on the ground that money which is good enough for the pensioner, the soldier, and the day-laborer, is good enough for the bondholder likewise, seem to forget that the process by which they would so easily get rid of the bondholder involves most destructive consequences to the pensioner, the soldier, the day-laborer, and every other person who owns, handles, or uses greenbacks. It is palpable and admitted that the five-twenties can not be paid off in greenbacks without a very large inflation of the currency, and to inflate the currency is to render each particular dollar worth so much less, to rob each particular dollar of its purchasing power, to the precise extent that the inflation is carried. And if this inflation be carried to the \$300,000,000 of new and additional issue advocated by the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Butler), in his

elaborate speech a few weeks since, the result must be ruinous and distressing in the extreme to pensioners, soldiers, day-laborers, and all other classes whose means are limited. Indeed, with the amount of inflation named, I confidently believe that the classes of citizens to whom I have referred and all others similarly situated would be deprived in effect of nearly one-half of what they now receive. To my mind no more ingenious and certain way of robbing the class who have small fixed incomes or who work for daily wages could possibly be devised than to pay off the five-twenty bonds in greenbacks procured by an additional and inflated issue. On the other hand, if no mischievous delusion of this kind be resorted to, we shall without any farther contraction of the currency, and without any financial convulsion, gravitate steadily and safely toward specie payment. We shall thus, without diminishing the present volume of greenbacks, be continually enhancing their purchasing power, making the money of pensioners, soldiers, and day-laborers far more valuable to them, month by month and year by year, and in the end render a paper dollar the full equivalent of a gold dollar. Then, when the government shall be paying its greenback creditor in gold, there will certainly be no objection to paying the bondholder in gold also; *and no one proposes to do it a day earlier!*

“*Third.* Does any sane man doubt that the inflation of the currency would speedily result in its depreciation? If so, he shuts his eyes to the prominent facts of history, to our own experience as a Nation, and to the plainest deductions of common sense. An excess of irredeemable money at once raises the price of all commodities necessary for daily con-

sumption. Clothing becomes higher and food becomes higher without a corresponding increase on the part of those of limited means to purchase these articles. The rich can stand it, but what would become of the poor? The man who lives by his daily toil would find the necessities of life run up in price far beyond any increase he could hope to secure for his labor; and it would soon become a struggle for existence with him and his family. I do not think any imagination can picture or foretell the misery that would be inflicted on this country if the currency should be inflated to the extent necessary to pay the five-twenties in greenbacks, as advocated by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Butler], and the gentleman from Ohio, not now a member of this House [Mr. Pendleton]. And in this connection I desire further to say that it is an immense delusion to attribute any of the dullness now prevalent in business circles to a scarcity of money. We have over seven hundred million of dollars of paper money now in circulation nearly three times as much as the entire bank circulation of the United States prior to 1861, while it is quite notorious that the money markets in our chief business centers were rarely known to be easier, or more abundantly supplied than during the whole of this winter. Moreover business of all kinds in France and England at this time is far duller than with us; and yet, in both these countries the plethora of money is in excess of what was ever known before. The Bank of France alone holds a surplus of \$200,000,000, and a corresponding amount is held in the Bank of England and by the large banking houses at Frankfort-on-the-Main. In view of these facts it seems to me that no delusion is so

absurd as to suppose that any relief could come from an inflation of the currency. Misery, wide-spread and hopeless, would be its only and inevitable result.

“*Fourth.* Nor do I see how any gentleman can consistently propose an inflation of the currency in the face of an express and solemn pledge to the contrary by Congress. When the government was very hard pressed for money, and when the great fear was that our whole financial fabric, like the continental system of our Revolutionary ancestors might be utterly and hopelessly ruined by a deluge of paper money, Congress, by deliberate enactment of June 30, 1864, pledged to all the public creditors that “the total amount of treasury notes *issued or to be issued* should never exceed \$400,000,000.” We are now within \$40,000,000 of that amount, and if we were ever so eager to pay off our five-twenties in greenbacks we are absolutely estopped by the \$400,000,000 pledge. If we disregard that pledge we might just as well trample on others and take a short cut at once to repudiation and national bankruptcy. A government that will disregard one solemn pledge can not expect to be trusted on other pledges.

“*Fifth.* Being thus estopped from procuring greenbacks by an additional issue, where else can we secure them for the purpose of paying off our five-twenty bonds at this time? We have no surplus in the treasury available for this purpose, and there remains but one resource, and that is to secure them by taxation. But do the people desire at this time to be taxed for the purpose of anticipating the payment of a debt which does not fall due for more than fourteen years to come? The general, I may say universal,

demand from the people is for a reduction of taxes to the lowest point consistent with a rigidly economical administration of the general government; and, for one, I am in favor of the repeal and removal of every tax that can possibly be dispensed with—especially those taxes that hinder and embarrass the manufacturing and productive industry of the country. With the taxes thus reduced we can certainly hope for no surplus to apply to the redemption of the fifties, and it would seem to me an intolerable burden and an inexcusable folly to lay taxes on the people at this time for the purpose of anticipating the payment of a large portion of the entire national debt. It is enough, in all conscience, to pay the interest; and it seems little short of madness to propose levying taxes for the purpose of taking from the pockets of the people a sufficient amount of greenbacks to anticipate the payment of a large share of the principal!

“*Sixth.* There is in the United States to-day an amount of gold and silver coin variously estimated at from two hundred and fifty to four hundred and fifty million dollars, every cent of which is as useless for purposes of a circulating medium as though it were all buried in the depths of the ocean. To inflate the currency is to increase the premium on gold and remove it still further from sight. But if we do not destroy our currency by a wild inflation, we shall, within a brief period, reach a point where paper will be the equivalent of gold, and then the vast amount of specie will at once spring into circulation. There is no danger of inflation from an excess of gold and silver, because the laws of export and of supply and demand resulting

from our commercial intercourse with other nations will always maintain a just equilibrium in the matter of a specie currency. The danger of inflation, with its manifold and multiplying evils, arises only when we have an irredeemable paper currency, which can not be used to pay a single dollar that we owe abroad, and whose permanent existence is an anomaly—at war with all the interests of commerce and trade. As soon as we reach the point where the government is able to pay gold for its greenbacks we shall thereby and at once call the whole mass of gold, now so securely hoarded, into the channels of circulation, to quicken industry and give stability to our financial system. Is not that a far better and wiser course than to inflate our currency by a forced attempt to anticipate the payment of our five-twenties, and thus launch our whole country on a wild career of paper money, in which speculators will make enormous fortunes, and in which rich men will uniformly grow richer, but in which the poor will be ground down to absolute beggary, the men of moderate means deprived of their resources, and the day laborer be utterly unable to subsist on the fruit of his toil? This era of speculation, with all of its evils, would be the direct result of that policy which clamors to-day for the payment of the five-twenties in greenbacks—the greenbacks to take care of themselves when they have done their work of financial ruin—leaving us a bankrupt people with a dishonored debt and a debased, unredeemed, and irredeemable currency. The other policy, which I have done my utmost to support and uphold, is to pay both bond and greenback in gold—not now, but in our own good time—and not to pay the bond in gold until after

the greenback shall be paid in gold likewise. In other words, the policy which I advocate is to bring our entire currency in due season, without haste, without rashness, without contraction, without financial convulsion, up to the specie standard: calling into circulation the vast amount of gold and silver which now lies hidden and buried—having all our business conducted on a safe and secure basis, when labor shall meet with its full reward, when every man will know what he is dealing in and how much he is worth, and when the entire country will rejoice in an abundant circulation of both gold and paper, in which paper will be as good as gold, and gold no better than paper.”

Mr. Blaine’s position upon the currency question and upon the finances of the country has been sound and conservative from his first entrance into public life. He always labored to bring the greenback up to par with gold, and fought the plan, when introduced into Congress, of retiring the greenback while its value was depreciated. He favored the contraction of the greenback issue as soon as it could be safely and honestly effected; opposed inflation in all forms; and counseled economy in every department of the government. While chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, it was his practice to scrutinize every item introduced into a bill, and his policy to reduce as many as would bear reduction. He had several forensic tilts with General Logan on his attempts to cut down the cost of maintaining the army.

Mr. Blaine’s anticipations regarding the then impending administration of General Grant were thus expressed in the House on December 10, 1868:

“General Grant’s administration will have high vantage

ground from the day of its inauguration. Its responsibilities will indeed be great; its power will be large; its opportunities will be splendid; and to meet them all we have a tried and true man, who adds to his other great elements of strength that of perfect trust and confidence on the part of the people. And to reassure ourselves of his executive character, if reassurance were necessary, let us remember that great military leaders have uniformly proved the wisest, firmest, and best of civil rulers. William III, Charles XII, Frederick of Prussia, are not more conspicuous instances in monarchical governments than Washington, Jackson, and Taylor have proved in our own. Whatever, therefore, may lie before us in the untrodden and often beclouded path of the future—whether it be financial embarrassment, or domestic trouble of another and more serious type, or misunderstandings with foreign nations, or the extension of our flag and our sovereignty over insular or continental possessions, north or south, that fate or fortune may peacefully offer to our ambition—let us believe with all confidence that General Grant's administration will meet every exigency, with the courage, the ability, and the conscience which American nationality and Christian civilization demand."

March 4, 1869, Mr. Blaine was elected Speaker of the House, being then in his thirty-ninth year. The vote stood: For James G. Blaine, of Maine, 135 votes; for Michael C. Kerr, of Indiana, 57 votes.

Upon taking the chair, he addressed the House as follows:

"Gentlemen of the House of Representatives: I thank you profoundly for the great honor which you have just con-

ferred upon me. The gratification which this signal mark of your confidence brings to me finds its only drawback in the diffidence with which I assume the weighty duties devolved upon me. Succeeding to a chair made illustrious by the services of such eminent statesmen and skilled parliamentarians as Clay, and Stevenson, and Polk, and Winthrop, and Banks, and Grow, and Colfax, I may well distrust my ability to meet the just expectations of those who have shown me such marked partiality. But relying, gentlemen, on my honest purpose to perform all my duties faithfully and fearlessly, and trusting in a large measure to the indulgence which I am sure you will always extend to me, I shall hope to retain, as I have secured, your confidence, your kindly regard, and your generous support.

“The Forty-first Congress assembles at an auspicious period in the history of our government. The splendid and impressive ceremonial which we have just witnessed in another part of the Capitol appropriately symbolizes the triumphs of the past and the hopes of the future. A great chieftain, whose sword at the head of gallant and victorious armies has saved the Republic from dismemberment and ruin, has been fitly called to the highest civic honor which a grateful people can bestow. Sustained by a Congress that so ably represents the loyalty, the patriotism, and the personal worth of the Nation, the President this day inaugurated will assure to the country an administration of purity, fidelity, and prosperity; an era of liberty regulated by law, and of law thoroughly inspired with liberty.

“Congratulating you, gentlemen, upon the happy auguries of the day, and invoking the gracious blessing of Al-

mighty God on the arduous and responsible labors before you, I am now ready to take the oath of office and enter upon the discharge of the duties to which you have called me." [Applause.]

The oath of office was then administered to the Speaker-elect by Hon. Elihu B. Washburne, of Illinois, the senior member of the body.

On the 3d of March, 1871, the Forty-first Congress expired. On that day Mr. S. S. Cox, of New York, offered the following resolution :

"Resolved, in view of the difficulties involved in the performance of the duties of the presiding officer of this House, and of the able, courteous, dignified, and impartial discharge of those duties by the Hon. J. G. Blaine during the present Congress, it is eminently becoming that our thanks be and they are hereby tendered to the Speaker thereof."

The resolution was agreed to. Speaker Blaine, in adjourning the House at noon of that day, said :

"Gentlemen of the House of Representatives : Our labors are at an end; but I delay the final adjournment long enough to return my most profound and respectful thanks for the commendation which you have been pleased to bestow upon my official course and conduct.

"In a deliberative body of this character a presiding officer is fortunate if he retains the confidence and steady support of his political associates. Beyond that you give me the assurance that I have earned the respect and goodwill of those from whom I am separated by party lines. Your expressions are most grateful to me, and are most gratefully acknowledged.

“The Congress whose existence closes with this hour enjoys a memorable distinction. It is the first in which all the States have been represented on this floor since the baleful winter that preceded our late bloody war. Ten years have passed since then—years of trial and of triumph; years of wild destruction and years of careful rebuilding; and after all, and as the result of all, the national government is here to-day, united, strong, proud, defiant, and just, with a territorial area vastly expanded, and with three additional States represented on the folds of its flag. For these prosperous fruits of our great struggle let us humbly give thanks to the God of battles and to the Prince of peace.

“And now, gentlemen, with one more expression of the obligation I feel for the considerate kindness with which you have always sustained me, I perform the only remaining duty of my office, in declaring, as I now do, that the House of Representatives of the Forty-first Congress is adjourned without day.” [Great Applause.]

When the Forty-second Congress convened on the 4th of March, 1871, Mr. Blaine was re-elected Speaker of the House of Representatives, the vote standing as follows:

James G. Blaine, of Maine, received 126 votes. Geo. W. Morgan, of Ohio, received 92 votes.

After Mr. Blaine had been conducted to the chair he addressed the House as follows:

“*Gentlemen*: The speakership of the American House of Representatives has always been esteemed as an enviable honor. A re-election to the position carries with it peculiar gratification, in that it implies an approval of past official

bearing. For this great mark of your confidence I can but return to you my sincerest thanks, with the assurance of my utmost devotion to the duties which you call upon me to discharge.

“Chosen by the party representing the political majority in this House, the Speaker owes a faithful allegiance to the principles and the policy of that party. But he will fall far below the honorable requirements of his station if he fails to give to the minority their full rights under the rules which he is called upon to administer. The successful working of our grand system of government depends largely upon the vigilance of party organizations, and the wholesome legislation which this House produces and perfects is that which results from opposing forces mutually eager and watchful and well-nigh balanced in numbers.

“The Forty-second Congress assembles at a period of general content, happiness, and prosperity throughout the land. Under the wise administration of the national government peace reigns in all our borders, and the only serious misunderstanding with any foreign power is, we may hope, at this moment in process of honorable, cordial, and lasting adjustment. We are fortunate in meeting at such a time, in representing such constituencies, in legislating for such a country.

“Trusting, gentlemen, that our official intercourse may be free from all personal asperity, believing that all our labors will eventuate for the public good, and craving the blessing of Him without whose aid we labor in vain, I am now ready to proceed with the further organization of the House; and, as the first step thereto, I will myself take the

oath prescribed by the Constitution and laws." [Loud Applause.]

The oath of office was then administered by Hon. H. L. Dawes, of Massachusetts, who had served longest continuously as a member of the House.

From the first the success of Mr. Blaine as a Speaker was conspicuous. Well versed in parliamentary law, his rulings were succinct and impartial. Within twelve days after taking his seat occurred the memorable contest on the floor of the House between the Speaker and Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts. The subject under consideration was a resolution for a committee of inquiry on alleged outrages in the Southern States. An amendment to the resolution had been added in the committee at the suggestion of Mr. Blaine, and this fact coming to the knowledge of Mr. Butler, the latter gentleman made it a basis of one of his violent and rather unscrupulous attacks. Hereupon the Speaker called William A. Wheeler, of New York, to the chair, and entered the arena against his wily and able antagonist. The member from Massachusetts began the onset by saying:

"What would the gentleman have thought of me and ten of my associates if we had come into the House after the caucus had made their nomination for Speaker, and had voted to throw the speakership into the hands of the minority of this House as might have been done? It is a caucus called merely for the purpose of nominating a candidate for Speaker."

MR. PETERS—I should have supposed you had some devilish design underneath. [Laughter.]

MR. BUTLER, of Massachusetts—That is exactly what I think about this; you and I agree exactly.

MR. BLAINE, the Speaker (Mr. Wheeler, in the chair)—I desire to ask the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Butler), whether he denies to me the right to have drawn that resolution?

MR. BUTLER, of Massachusetts—I have made no assertion on that subject, one way or the other.

MR. BLAINE—Did not the gentleman distinctly know that I drew it?

MR. BUTLER, of Massachusetts—No, sir.

MR. BLAINE—Did I not take it to the gentleman and read it to him?

MR. BUTLER, of Massachusetts—Yes, sir.

MR. BLAINE—Did I not show him the manuscript?

MR. BUTLER, of Massachusetts—Yes, sir.

MR. BLAINE—In my own hand-writing?

MR. BUTLER, of Massachusetts—No, sir.

MR. BLAINE—And at his suggestion I added these words: “and the expenses of said committee shall be paid from the contingent fund of the House of Representatives” [applause], and the fact that ways and means were wanted to pay the expenses was the only objection he made to it.

MR. BUTLER, of Massachusetts—What was the answer the gentleman made? I suppose I may ask that, now that the Speaker has come upon the floor.

MR. BLAINE—The answer was that I immediately wrote the amendment providing for the payment of the expenses of the committee.

MR. BUTLER, of Massachusetts—What was my answer? Was it not, that under no circumstances would I have anything to do with it, being bound by the action of the caucus?

MR. BLAINE—No, sir; the answer was that under no circumstances would you serve as chairman.

MR. BUTLER, of Massachusetts—Or have anything to do with the resolution.

MR. BLAINE—There are two hundred and twenty-four members of the House of Representatives. A committee of thirteen can be found without the gentleman from Massachusetts being on it. His service is not essential to the constitution of the committee.

MR. BUTLER, of Massachusetts—Why did you not find such a committee, then?

MR. BLAINE—Because I knew very well, that if I omitted the appointment of the gentleman, it would be heralded throughout the length and breadth of the country by the *claquers* who have so industriously disturbed this letter this morning, that the speaker had packed the committee, as the gentleman said he would, with “weak-kneed Republicans,” who would not go into an investigation vigorously, as he would. That was the reason [applause]. So that the chair laid the responsibility upon the gentleman of declining the appointment.

MR. BUTLER, of Massachusetts—I knew that was the trick of the chair.

MR. BLAINE—Ah, the “trick”! we know what the gentleman meant by the word “trick”. I am very glad to know that the “trick” was successful.

MR. BUTLER, of Massachusetts—No doubt.

MR. BLAINE—It is this “trick” which places the gentleman from Massachusetts on his responsibility before the country.

MR. BUTLER, of Massachusetts—Exactly.

MR. BLAINE—Wholly.

MR. BUTLER, of Massachusetts—Wholly.

MR. BLAINE—Now, sir; the gentleman from Massachusetts talks about the coercion to vote for the resolution. I do not know what any one of them may have to say; but if there be here to-day a single gentleman who has given to the gentleman from Massachusetts the intimation that he felt coerced, that he was in any way restrained from free action, let him get up now and speak, or “forever after hold his peace.”

MR. BUTLER, of Massachusetts—Oh, yes.

MR. BLAINE—The gentleman from Massachusetts says in his letter:

“Having been appointed against my wishes, expressed both publicly and privately, by the speaker, as chairman of a committee to investigate the state of affairs in the South, ordered to-day by Democratic votes, against the most earnest protest of *more than two-thirds of the majority of the Republicans* of the House.”

MR. BUTLER, of Massachusetts—Yes, sir.

MR. BLAINE—This statement is so bald and groundless that I do not know what reply to make to it. It is made in the face of the fact that on the roll-call fifty-eight Republicans voted for the resolution, and forty-nine besides the gentleman from Massachusetts against it. I deny that the gentleman has the right to speak for any member who voted for it, unless it may be the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. Maynard), who voted for it for the purpose, probably, of moving a reconsideration, a very common, a very justifiable, and proper course whenever any gentleman chooses to adopt it. I am not criticising it at all, but if there be any one of

the fifty-eight gentlemen who voted for the resolution under coercion I would like the gentleman from Massachusetts to designate him.

MR. BUTLER, of Massachusetts—I am not here to retail private conversations.

MR. BLAINE—Oh, no; but you will distribute throughout the entire country unfounded calumnies, purporting to rest upon assertions made in private conversation, which, when called for, can not be verified.

MR. BUTLER, of Massachusetts—Pardon me, sir, I said there was a caucus.

MR. BLAINE—I hope God will pardon you; but you ought not to ask me to do it! [Laughter.]

MR. BUTLER, of Massachusetts—I will ask God, and not you.

MR. BLAINE—I am glad the gentleman will.

MR. BUTLER, of Massachusetts—I have no favors to ask of the devil, and let me say that the caucus agreed upon a definite mode of action.

MR. BLAINE—The caucus? Now, let me say here and now that the chairman of that caucus, sitting on my right, “a chevalier” in legislation, “*sans peur et sans reproche*,” the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Blair] stated, as a man of honor, as he is, that he was bound to say officially from the chair, that it was not considered and could not be considered binding upon gentlemen; and more than that, talk about tricks, why, the very infamy of political trickery never compassed a design so foolish and so wicked as to bring together a caucus and attempt to pledge them to the support of measures which might violate not only the politi-

cal principles but the religious faith of men, to the support of a bill drawn by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Butler], which might violate the conscientious scruples of men, and yet, forsooth, he comes in here and declares that whatever a caucus may determine upon, however hastily, however crudely, however wrongfully, you must support it! Why, even in the worst days of the Democracy, when the gentleman himself was in the front rank of the worst wing of it, when was it ever attempted to say that a majority of a party caucus could bind men upon measures that involved questions of constitutional law, of personal honor, of religious scruple?

The gentleman asked what would have been done? He asked my colleague [Mr. Peters] what would have been done in the case of members of a party voting against the caucus nominee for Speaker. I understood that was intended a thrust at myself. Caucus nominations of officers have always been held as binding. But just here let me say that if a minority did not vote against the decision of the caucus that nominated me for Speaker, in my judgment, it was not the fault of the gentleman from Massachusetts. [Applause.] If the requisite number could have been found to have gone over to the despised Nazarenes on the opposite side, that gentleman would have led them as gallantly as he did the forces in the Charleston Convention. [Renewed applause and laughter.]

MR. BUTLER, of Massachusetts—Mr. Speaker—

MR. BLAINE—I have the floor; I do not very often ask it.

MR. BUTLER, of Massachusetts—Let not your conscience accuse you.

MR. BLAINE—Mr. Speaker, in old times it was the ordinary habit of the Speaker of the House of Representatives to take part in debate. The custom has fallen into disuse. For one, I am very glad that it has; for one, I approve of the conclusion that forbids it. The speaker should, with consistent fidelity to his own party, be the impartial administrator of the rules of the House, and a constant participation in the discussion of members would take from him that appearance of impartiality which it is so important to maintain in rulings of the chair. But at the same time I despise and denounce the insolence of the gentleman from Massachusetts when he attempts to say that the representative from the third district of the State of Maine has no right to frame a resolution, has no right to seek that under the rules that resolution shall be adopted; has no right to ask the judgment of the House upon that resolution. Why, even the insolence of that gentleman himself never reached that sublime height before. [Applause.]

And that is the whole extent of my offending. That I wrote a resolution, that I took it to various gentlemen on this side of the House, that I said to gentlemen on the other side of the House, "This is a resolution on which you ought not to fillibuster; it is a resolution demanding a fair, impartial investigation, and under the rules I desire that this resolution may be offered, and my colleague (Mr. Peters) will offer it." And then the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Butler) telegraphs, he knows to how many papers through the whole United States, for doubtless his letters will be found *in extenso* wherever he could get it inserted in this morning's journals, that this was a "legislative trick."

MR. BUTLER, of Massachusetts—And I repeat it now.

MR. BLAINE—There are certain repetitions which do not amount to slander, and the gentleman may repeat every thing in that connection, as his colleague [Mr. Davis], very well says, “Except the truth.”

MR. BUTLER—I did not hear my colleague say that.

MR. BLAINE—The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Butler], in his remarkable letter, uses this language:

“Because, the very resolution which authorized the committee was so framed, and in my belief, purposely, in the interests of the Democratic party, that such committee can not report, under the rules of the House, in the face of the Democratic opposition, and by their permission, in more than a year from this time, the usual power not being inserted in it ‘to report at any time.’”

The gentleman from Massachusetts is a very astute lawyer, but it has fallen under my observation that he is extremely ignorant of the rules of this House. Had the resolution contained those words it would have been tantamount to suspending the rules, and one objection would have prevented its coming in. What does the resolution say? That the committee shall be appointed with power to report in December. A report from the meeting of Congress during the entire month of December shall be in order at any time the committee may wish to make report.

Eight and a half months intervene between now and December for the committee's labors, and they have one full month with the privilege to report at any time, and yet the gentleman says the resolution was purposely so framed as to exclude the committee from the power to report at all. It was purposely framed and carried over the gentleman's

point of order. It was to avoid that point of order I omitted those words, presuming that if the committee got through their labors at the end of nine months, one whole month at the beginning of the session would be ample in which to make their report.

I am admonished by the gentlemen around me of a fact, with which I am myself familiar, that the power to report at any time does not always carry with it the exercise of that power. The gentleman himself has been chairman during the entire Congress of a committee empowered to report at any time on this very identical subject, and on other subjects committed to it, and the members of that committee will say whether the gentleman always exercised his full power under the rules, and whether, if the power to report at any time had been given to that gentleman, as a chairman to this committee, and had he accepted the appointment he might not have construed it as he has construed it for nearly two years on the reconstruction committee, to be the power to report at no time?

Now, Mr. Speaker, nobody regrets more sincerely than I do any occurrence which calls me to take the floor. On questions of propriety I appeal to members on both sides of the House, and they will bear me witness that the circulation of this letter in the morning prints, its distribution throughout the land by telegraph, the laying it upon the desks of members, was intended to be by the gentleman from Massachusetts, not openly and boldly, but covertly—I will not use a stronger phase—an insult to the Speaker of this House. As such I resent it. I denounce the letter in all its essential statements, and in all its misstatements, and

in all its mean inferences and meaner inuendoes. I denounce the letter as groundless, without justification, and the gentleman himself, I trust, will live to see the day when he will be ashamed of having written it.

When the second session of the Forty-second Congress adjourned, June 8, 1872, Mr. Niblack, of Indiana, took the chair temporarily, when Mr. Samuel J. Randall, of Pennsylvania, submitted the following resolution :

“ *Resolved*, That the thanks of this House are due, and hereby tendered to James G. Blaine, Speaker of the House, for the able, prompt, and impartial manner in which he has discharged the duties of his office during the present session.”

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

On the 3d of March, 1873, Mr. Voorhees, of Indiana, spoke as follows, Hon. Wm. A. Wheeler, of New York, in the Chair: “I rise to present a matter to the House in which I am sure every member will concur. In doing so I perform the most pleasant duty of my entire service on this floor. I offer the following resolution. It has the sincere sanction of my head and of my heart. I move its adoption :”

The clerk read as follows :

“ *Resolved*, That the thanks of this House are due, and are hereby tendered to Hon. James G. Blaine, for the distinguished ability, and impartiality with which he has discharged the duty of Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Forty-second Congress.”

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

On the same day, in adjourning the House *sine die*, Mr. Blaine spoke as follows :

“ *Gentlemen* : For the forty-second time, since the Federal Government was organized, its great representative body

stands on the eve of dissolution. The final word which separates us is suspended for a moment that I may return my sincere thanks for the kind expressions respecting my official conduct, which, without division of party, you have caused to be entered on your journal.

“At the close of four years’ service in this responsible and often trying position, it is a source of honorable pride that I have so administered my trust as to secure the confidence and approbation of both sides of the House. It would not be strange if, in the necessarily rapid discharge of the daily business, I should have erred in some of the decisions made on points, and often without precedent to guide me. It has been my good fortune, however, to be always sustained by the House, and in no single instance to have had a ruling reversed. I advert to this gratifying fact, to quote the language of the most eloquent of my predecessors, ‘In no vain spirit of exhalation, but as furnishing a powerful motive for undissembled gratitude.

“And now, gentlemen, with a hearty God bless you all, I discharge my only remaining duty in declaring that the House of Representatives for the Forty-second Congress is adjourned without day.” [Applause.]

On the second day of December, 1873, Mr. Blaine was chosen Speaker of the House for the third time, receiving 189 votes to 80 votes cast for all others. After being conducted to the chair by Mr. Maynard, of Tennessee, and Mr. Wood, of New York, he addressed the House as follows:

“*Gentlemen of the House of Representatives*: The vote this moment announced by the clerk, is such an expression of your confidence as calls for my sincerest thanks. To be

chosen Speaker of the American House of Representatives is always an honorable distinction; to be chosen a third time enhances the honor more than three-fold; to be chosen by the largest body that ever assembled in the Capitol imposes a burden of responsibility which only your indulgent kindness could embolden me to assume.

“The first occupant of this Chair presided over a House of sixty-five members, representing a population far below the present aggregate of the State of New York. At that time in the whole United States there were not fifty thousand civilized inhabitants to be found one hundred miles distant from the flow of the Atlantic tide. To-day, gentlemen, a large body of you come from beyond that limit, and represent districts then peopled only by the Indian and adventurous frontiersman. The National Government is not yet as old as many of its citizens; but in this brief span of time, less than one lengthened life, it has, under God’s providence, extended its power until a continent is the field of its empire and attests the majesty of its law.

“With the growth of new States and the resulting changes in the centers of population, new interests are developed, rival to the old, but by no means hostile; diverse, but not antagonistic. Nay, rather are all these interests in harmony; and the true science of just government is to give to each its full and fair play, oppressing none by undue exaction, favoring none by undue privilege. It is this great lesson which our daily experience is teaching us, binding us together more closely, making our mutual dependence more manifest, and causing us to feel, whether we live in the North or in the South, in the East or in the West, that

we have indeed but 'one country, one Constitution, one destiny.'"

At the expiration of the Forty-third Congress on the third day of March, 1875, Mr. Potter submitted the following resolution :

"*Resolved*, That the thanks of this House are due, and are hereby tendered, to Hon. James G. Blaine, Speaker of the House of Representatives, for the impartiality, efficiency, and distinguished ability with which he has discharged the trying and arduous duties of his office during the Forty-third Congress."

The resolution was unanimously agreed to.

On the same day, when the clock indicated that the hour for the dissolution of the Forty-third Congress had arrived, Speaker Blaine delivered the following valedictory address :

"*Gentlemen* : I close with this hour a six years' service as Speaker of the House of Representatives—a period surpassed in length by but two of my predecessors, and equaled by only two others. The rapid mutations of personal and political fortunes in this country have limited the great majority of those who have occupied this Chair to shorter terms of office.

"It would be the gravest insensibility to the honors and responsibilities of life, not to be deeply touched by so signal a mark of public esteem as that which I have thrice received at the hands of my political associates. I desire in this last moment to renew to them, one and all, my thanks and my gratitude.

"To those from whom I differ in my party relations—the minority of this House—I tender my acknowledgements

for the generous courtesy with which they have treated me. By one of those sudden and decisive changes which distinguish popular institutions, and which conspicuously mark a free people, that minority is transformed in the ensuing Congress to the governing power of the House. However it might possibly have been under other circumstances, that event renders these words my farewell to the Chair.

“The speakership of the American House of Representatives is a post of honor, of dignity, of power, of responsibility. Its duties are at once complex and continuous; they are both onerous and delicate; they are performed in the broad light of day, under the eye of the whole people, subject at all times to the closest observation, and always attended with the sharpest criticism. I think no other official is held to such instant and such rigid accountability. Parliamentary rulings, in their very nature, are peremptory: almost absolute in authority and instantaneous in effect. They can not always be enforced in such a way as to win applause or secure popularity; but I am sure that no man of any party who is worthy to fill this chair will ever see a dividing line between duty and policy.

“Thanking you once more, and thanking you most cordially for the honorable testimonial you have placed on record to my credit, I perform my only remaining duty in declaring that the Forty-third Congress has reached its constitutional limit, and that the House of Representatives stands adjourned without day.” [Applause.]

The Forty-fourth Congress differed in hue from several of its illustrious predecessors. The Democracy had revived spasmodically and achieved a majority in the National

House. At the date of convening, December 6, 1875, Michael C. Kerr, of Indiana, was elected Speaker, and Mr. Blaine took his position upon the floor as a recognized leader of the Republican minority.

It was natural that the civil war should entail an infinity of bitter memories. It still remains to be seen how long the passions enkindled by that strife will continue to burn. Certain it is that the close of the first decade after the end of the strife and the collapse of the rebellion still found the American heart almost as inflammable as ever to the recollections of the conflict. The fact that the opening of the Forty-third Congress witnessed the advent of a great number of the leaders of the Confederacy into the Congress of the United States, did not tend to allay the feelings of resentment which had long burned in the loyal heart of the North against those who had tried to destroy the Union. About sixty brigadier-generals of the late Confederate army came into that Congress, nor was their conduct in that body marked with such modesty of demeanor as was likely to elicit favor from the Republicans. They asserted themselves with not a little of their old-time audacity. They expressed regret for nothing that they had done. They seemed rather to glory in the fact that they had been the adherents of the Lost Cause. When ever a debate was sprung touching upon the issues which had been involved in the war they came to the front with as much arrogance as in the ante-bellum epoch. Finally, when the amnesty bill, presented by Mr. Randall, of Pennsylvania, was under consideration, the clause appended in the way of an amendment, exempting Jefferson Davis from the operations of the bill,

gave to the brigadiers a full opportunity to show their temper and resubscribe to the heresies, not to say atrocities, of the Rebellion. Foremost among the debaters in the House at this time was Benjamin Hill, of Georgia, who, with more logic than wisdom, undertook to show that he himself and many others were well-nigh as guilty as the chieftain of the ex-Confederacy. It was at this juncture that Mr. Blaine again walked into the arena as the champion of the North. Perhaps he never appeared to a better advantage in a Congressional debate than in that which occurred on the 10th of January, 1876. He took advantage of the occasion, and it can not be doubted that his speech was one of the most effective and powerful ever delivered in Congress. The report of it resounded through the country like a bugle call, and the impending presidential contest took its tone and character in a large measure from the passionate, patriotic appeal of Mr. Blaine. The measure was entitled "a bill to remove the disabilities imposed by the third section of the fourteenth article of the amendments of the Constitution of the United States." Mr. Randall, of Pennsylvania, moved to suspend the rules and take the pending bill from the Speaker's table. At this juncture Mr. Blaine arose and said:

"Mr. Speaker, I rise to a privileged question. I move to reconsider the vote which has just been declared. I propose to debate that motion, and now give notice, that if the motion to reconsider is agreed to, it is my intention to offer the amendment which has been read several times. I will not delay the House to have it read again.

"Every time the question of amnesty has been brought

before the House by a gentleman on that side for the last two Congresses, it has been done with a certain flourish of magnanimity, which is an imputation on this side of the House, as though the Republican party which has been in charge of the government for the last twelve or fourteen years had been bigoted, narrow, and illiberal, and as though certain very worthy and deserving gentlemen in the Southern States were ground down to-day under a great tyranny and oppression from which the hard-heartedness of this side of the House can not possibly be prevailed upon to relieve them.

“If I may anticipate as much wisdom as ought to characterize that side of the House, this may be the last time that amnesty will be discussed in the American Congress. I therefore, desire, and under the rules of the House, with no thanks to that side for the privilege, to place on record just what the Republican party has done in this matter. I wish to place it there as an imperishable record of liberality, and large-mindedness, and magnanimity, and mercy, far beyond any that has ever been shown before in the world’s history by conqueror to conquered.

“With the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Randall], I entered this Congress in the midst of the hot flame of war, when the Union was rocking to its foundations, and no man knew whether we were to have a country or not. I think the gentleman from Pennsylvania would have been surprised when he and I were novices in the Thirty-eighth Congress, if he could have foreseen, before our joint service ended, we should have seen sixty-one gentlemen, then in arms against us, admitted to equal privileges with ourselves, and

all by the grace and magnanimity of the Republican party. When the war ended, according to the universal usage of nations, the government, then under the exclusive control of the Republican party, had the right to determine what should be the political status of the people who had been defeated in war. Did we inaugurate any measure of persecution? Did we set forth on a career of bloodshed and vengeance? Did we take property? Did we prohibit any man all his civil rights? Did we take from him the right he enjoys to-day, to vote?

“Not at all. But, instead of a general and sweeping condemnation, the Republican party placed in the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution only this exclusion; after considering the whole subject, it ended in simply coming down to this :

“That no person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-president, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.’

“It has been variously estimated, that this section at the time of its original insertion in the Constitution included somewhere from fourteen to thirty thousand persons; as nearly as I can gather together the facts of the case, it included about eighteen thousand men in the South. It let go every man of the hundreds of thousands—or millions, if you please—who had been engaged in the attempt to destroy

this government, and only held those under disability who, in addition to revolting, had violated a special, and peculiar, and personal oath to support the Constitution of the United States. It was limited to that.

“Well, the disability was hardly placed upon the South until we began in this hall, and in the other wing of the capital, when there were more than two-thirds Republicans in both branches, to remit it, and the very first bill took that disability off from 1,578 citizens of the South; and the next bill took it off from 3,526 gentlemen—by wholesale. Many of the gentlemen on this floor came in for grace and amnesty in those two bills. After these bills specifying individuals had passed, and others of smaller numbers, which I will not recount, the Congress of the United States in 1872, by two-thirds of both branches, still being two-thirds Republican, passed this general law :

“‘That all political disabilities imposed by the third section of the fourteenth article of amendments of the Constitution of the United States, are hereby removed from all persons whomsoever, except Senators and Representatives of the Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh Congresses, officers in the judicial, military, and naval service of the United States, heads of departments, and foreign ministers of the United States.’

“Since that act passed a very considerable number of the gentlemen whom it still left under disability have been relieved specially, by name, in separate acts, but I believe, Mr. Speaker, in no single instance since the act of May 22, 1872, have the disabilities been taken from any man except from his respectful petition to the Congress of the United States that they should be removed; and I believe,

in no instance, except one, have they been refused, upon the petition being presented. I believe in no instance, except one, has there been any other than a unanimous vote.

“Now I find there are widely varying opinions in regard to the number that are still under disabilities in the South. I have had occasion, by conference with the Department of War and of the Navy, and with the assistance of some records which I have caused to be searched, to be able to state to the House, I believe, with more accuracy than it has been stated hitherto, just the number of gentlemen in the South still under disabilities. Those who were officers of the United States Army, educated at its own expense at West Point, and who joined the rebellion, and are still included under this act, number, as nearly as the War Department can figure it up, three hundred and twenty-five; those in the Navy, about two hundred and ninety-five: those under the other head—Senators and Representatives of the Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh Congresses, officers in the judicial service of the United States, heads of departments, and foreign ministers of the United States—make up a number somewhat more difficult to state accurately, but smaller in the aggregate. The whole sum of the entire list (it is probably impossible to state it with entire accuracy, and I do not attempt to do that) is about seven hundred and fifty persons now under disabilities.

“I am very frank to say, then, in regard to all these gentlemen, save one, I do not know of any reason why amnesty should not be granted to them as it has been to many others of the same class. I am not here to argue against it. The gentleman from Iowa [Mr. Kasson] suggests, ‘on

their application.' I am coming to that. But as I have said, seeing in this list, as I have examined it with some care, no gentleman to whom I think there could be any objection, since amnesty has already become so general—and I am not going back of that question to argue it—I am in favor of granting it to them. But in the absence of this respectful form of application which, since May 22, 1872, has become a sort of common law, as preliminary to amnesty, I simply wish to put it that they shall go before a United States court, and in open court, with uplifted hand, swear that they mean to conduct themselves as good citizens of the United States; that is all.

"Now, gentlemen may say that this is a foolish exaction. Possibly it is; but somehow or other I have a prejudice in favor of it, and there are some petty points in it that appeal as well to prejudice as to conviction. For one, I do not want to impose citizenship upon any gentleman.

"In my amendment, Mr. Speaker, I have excepted Jefferson Davis from its operation. Now, I do not place it on the ground that Mr. Davis was, as he has been commonly called, the head and front of the rebellion, because on that ground I do not think the exception would be tenable. Mr. Davis was just as guilty, no more so, no less so, than thousands of others, who have already received the benefit and grace of amnesty. Probably he was far less efficient as an enemy of the United States; probably he was far more useful as a disturber of the councils of the Confederacy than many who have already received amnesty. It is not because of any particular and special damage that he above others did to the Union, or because he was personally or

especially of consequence, that I except him; but I except him on this ground: That he was the author, knowingly, deliberately, guiltily, and willfully, of the gigantic murders and crimes at Andersonville."

A MEMBER—"And Libby."

MR. BLAINE—"Libby pales into insignificance before Andersonville. I place it on that ground, and I believe to-day that so rapidly does one event follow on the heels of another, in the rapid age in which we live, that even those of us who were contemporaneous with what was transpiring there, and still less those who have grown up since, fail to remember the gigantic crime then committed.

"Sir, since the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Randall] introduced this bill, last month, I have taken occasion to re-read some of the historic cruelties of the world. I have read over the details of those atrocious murders of the Duke of Alva, in the Low Countries, which are always mentioned with a thrill of horror throughout Christendom; I have read the details of the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, that stands out in history as one of those atrocities beyond imagination; I have read anew the horrors untold and unimaginable of the Spanish Inquisition, and I here, before God, measuring my words, knowing their full extent and import, declare, that neither the deeds of the Duke of Alva, in the Low Countries, nor the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, nor the thumb-screws and engines of torture of the Spanish Inquisition begin to compare in atrocity with the hideous crime of Andersonville.

"Now, I do not arraign the Southern people for this; God forbid that I should charge any people with sympa-

thizing with such things! There were many evidences of great uneasiness among the Southern people about it; and one of the great crimes of Jefferson Davis was that, besides conniving at and producing that condition of things, he concealed it from the Southern people. He labored not only to conceal it, but to make false statements about it. We have obtained, and have now in the Congressional Library, a complete series of Mr. Davis's messages—the official imprint from Richmond. I have looked over them, and I have here an extract from his message of November 7, 1864, at the very time that these horrors were at their acme; mark you, when those horrors, of which I have read specimens, were at their extremest verge of desperation, Mr. Davis sends a message to the Confederate Congress at Richmond, in which he says:

“‘The solicitude of the government for the relief of our captive fellow-citizens has known no abatement, has, on the contrary, been still more deeply evoked by the additional sufferings to which they have been wantonly subjected by deprivation of adequate food, clothing, and fuel, which they were not even permitted to purchase from the prison sutler.’

And he adds that the

“‘Enemy attempted to excuse their barbarous treatment by the unfounded allegation that it was retaliatory for like conduct on our part.’

. “Now, I undertake here to say that there is not a Confederate soldier now living, who has any credit as a man in his community, and who ever was a prisoner in the hands of the Union forces, who will say that he ever was cruelly treated; that he ever was deprived of the same rations that the Union soldiers had—the same food, and the same clothing.”

MR. COOK, of Georgia, said—"Thousands of them say it—thousands of them; men of as high character as any in this House."

MR. BLAINE—"I take issue upon that, there is not one who can substantiate it, not one. As for measures of retaliation—although goaded by this terrific treatment of our friends by Mr. Davis, the Senate of the United States specifically refused to pass a resolution of retaliation, as contrary to modern civilization and the first precepts of christianity. And there was no retaliation attempted or justified. It was refused; and Mr. Davis knew it was refused just as well as I knew it, or any other man, because what took place in Washington, or what took place in Richmond, was known on either side of the line within a day or two thereafter.

"Mr. Speaker, this is not a proposition to punish Jefferson Davis; there is nobody attempting that. I will very frankly say, I myself thought the indictment of Mr. Davis, at Richmond, under the administration of Mr. Johnson, was a weak attempt, for he was indicted only for that of which he was guilty in common with all others who went into the Confederate movement. Therefore, there was no particular reason for it. But I will undertake to say this, and, as it may be considered an extreme speech, I want to say it with great deliberation, that there is not a government, a civilized government on the face of the globe—I am sure there is not a European government, that would not have arrested Mr. Davis, and, when they had him in their power, would not have tried him for maltreatment of the prisoners of war, and shot him within thirty days. France, Russia, England, Germany, Austria, any one of them would have done it.

The poor victim, Wirz, deserved his death for brutal treatment and murder of many victims, but I always thought it was a weak movement on the part of our government to allow Jefferson Davis to go at large, and hang Wirz. I confess I do. Wirz was nothing in the world but a mere subordinate, a tool, and there was no special reason for singling him out for death. I do not say he did not deserve it—he did, richly, amply, fully. He deserved no mercy, but at the same time, as I have often said, it seemed like skipping over the president, superintendent, and board of directors in the case of a great railroad accident, and hanging the brakeman of the rear car.

“There is no proposition here to punish Jefferson Davis, nobody is seeking to do it. That time has gone by. The statute of limitations, common feelings of humanity, will supervene for his benefit. But what you ask us to do is to declare, by a vote of two-thirds of both branches of Congress, that we consider Mr. Davis worthy to fill the highest offices in the United States, if he can get a constituency to indorse him. He is a voter; he can buy and he can sell; he can go and he can come. He is as free as any man in the United States. There is a large list of subordinate offices to which he is eligible. This bill proposes, in view of that record, that Mr. Davis, by a two-thirds vote of the Senate and a two-thirds vote of the House, be declared eligible and worthy to fill any office up to the Presidency of the United States. For one, upon full deliberation, I will not do it.

“One word more, Mr. Speaker, in the way of detail, which I omitted. It has often been said in mitigation of Jefferson Davis, in the Andersonville matter, that the men

who died there in such large numbers (I think the victims were about 15,000), fell prey to an epidemic, and died of a disease which would not be averted. The record shows that out of 35,000 men about 33 per cent died, that is, one in three, while of the soldiers encamped near by to take care and guard them, only one man in 400 died; that is, within a half-mile only, one in 400 died.

“As to the general question of amnesty, Mr. Speaker, as I have already said, it is too late to debate it; it has gone by. Whether it has in all respects been wise, or whether it has been unwise, I would not detain the House here to discuss. Even if I had a strong conviction upon that question, I do not know that it would be productive of any great good to enunciate it, but at the same time it is a very singular spectacle that the Republican party, in possession of the entire government, have deliberately called back into public power the leading men of the South, every one of whom turns up its bitter and relentless and malignant foe; and to-day, from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, the very men who have received this amnesty are as busy as they can be in consolidating into one compact political organization the old slave States, just as they were before the war. We see the banner held out blazoned again with the inscription that, with the united South and a very few votes from the North, this country can be governed. I want the people to understand that is precisely the movement; that that is the animus and the intent. I do not think offering amnesty to the seven hundred and fifty men who are now without it, will hasten or retard that movement. I do not think the granting of amnesty to Mr. Davis will hasten or retard it.

“I heard it said, ‘We will lift Mr. Davis again into great consequence by refusing amnesty.’ That is not for me to consider. I only see before me, when his name is presented, a man who by a wink of his eye, by a wave of his hand, by a nod of his head, could have stopped the atrocity of Andersonville. Some of us had kinsmen there, most of us had friends there, all of us had countrymen there, and in the name of those kinsmen, friends, and countrymen, I here protest, and shall with my vote protest against their calling back and crowning the man who organized that murder.”

On the great question of a sound currency based on specie, Mr. Blaine has never given forth an uncertain sound. He has shown himself opposed to all heresies relating to the over-issue and unstable basis of paper money. During the Forty-fourth Congress he had occasion in several debates to express his views with an emphasis not to be mistaken. He showed himself to be an ardent supporter of the national credit, and spoke with fearless freedom against the doctrines of inflation and an irredeemable paper. On the 10th of February, 1876, he spoke for an hour on this subject, holding the closest attention of the House, and eliciting praise even from his adversaries. The following paragraph will give a general notion of the logic and eloquence of his speech :

MR. BLAINE—“Mr. Chairman, the honor of the national government and of the prosperity of the American people, are alike menaced by those who demand the perpetuation of an irredeemable paper currency. For more than two years the country has been suffering from prostration in business; confidence returns but slowly; trade revives only partially; and to-day, with capital unproductive and labor unemployed,

we find ourselves in the midst of an agitation respecting the medium with which business transactions shall be carried on. Until this question is definitely adjusted, it is idle to expect that full measure of prosperity to which the energies of our people and the resources of the land entitle us. In the way of that adjustment one great section of the Democratic party—possibly its controlling power—stubbornly stands to-day. The Republicans, always true to the primal duty of supporting the nation's credit, have now cast behind them all minor difference and dissensions on the financial question, and have gradually consolidated their strength against inflation. The currency, therefore, becomes of necessity a prominent political issue, and those Democrats who are in favor of honest dealing by the government and honest money for the people, may be compelled to act as they did in that still graver exigency when the existence of the government itself was at stake. . . .

“To this uniform adherence to the specie standard the crisis of the rebellion forced an exception. In January, 1862, with more than a half million of men in arms, with a daily expenditure of nearly two millions of dollars, the government suddenly found itself without money. Customs yielded but little, internal taxes had not yet been levied, public credit was feeble if not paralyzed, our armies had met with one signal reverse, and nowhere with marked success, and all minds were filled with gloom and apprehension. The one supreme need of the hour was money, and money the government did not have. What, then, should be done—rather what could be done? The ordinary note had been tried and failed, and those already issued were discredited and below

the value of the bills of country banks. The government in this great and perilous need promptly called to its aid a power never before exercised—it authorized the issue of one hundred and fifty millions of notes, and declared them to be a legal tender for all debts, public and private, with two exceptions. . . .

“The necessities of the government were so great, and expenditures so enormous, that another hundred and fifty millions of legal tender notes were speedily called for and granted by Congress, the Democrats again voting under Mr. Pendleton’s lead against the measure. With varying fortunes the last year of the war was reached, with three hundred millions of legal tenders in circulation. With the strain of our public credit, and the doubts and vicissitudes of the struggle, these notes had fallen far below par in gold, and it became apparent to every clear-headed observer, that the continued issue of legal tenders, with no provision for their redemption, and no limit to their amount, would utterly destroy the credit of the government, and involve the Union cause in irretrievable disaster. But at that moment the military situation, with its perils and its prospects, was such that the government must have money more rapidly than the sale of bonds could furnish it, and the danger was that the sale of bonds would be stopped altogether, unless some definite limit could be assigned to the issue of legal tender notes. Accordingly, Congress sought, and successfully sought, to accomplish both ends at the same time, and they passed a bill granting one hundred millions additional legal tender circulation—making four hundred millions in all—and then incorporated in the same law a solemn assurance, and pledge that ‘the

total amount of United States notes, issued and to be issued, shall never exceed four hundred millions of dollars,' and to this pledge every Democratic Senator and Representative assented, either actively or silently, as the journals of both Houses will show. The subsequent readiness of many of those gentlemen to trample on it must be upon the broad principle of ethics that the government should keep those pledges which are profitable and disregard those which it will pay to violate.

"When the war was over and the Union saved, one of the first duties of the government was to improve its credit and restore a sound currency to the people; and here we might have reasonably expected the aid of the Democratic party. But we did not receive it. Irreconcilably hostile to the issue of legal tenders when that form of credit was needed for the salvation of the country, the Democracy, as soon as the country was saved, conceived a violent love for these notes, and demanded an almost illimitable issue of them. . . .

"As I said at the outset of my remarks, Mr. Chairman, the country is suffering under one of those periodical revolutions in trade common to all commercial nations, and which, thus far, no wisdom of legislation has been able to avert. The natural restlessness of a people so alive and alert as ours, looks for an instant remedy, and the danger in such a condition of the public mind is that something may be adopted that will ultimately deepen the disease rather than lay the ground-work for an effectual cure. Naturally enough, in such a time the theories for relief are numerous, and we have marvelous recipes offered whereby the people shall be enabled to pay the dollar they owe with less than a hun-

dred cents; while those who are caught with such a delusion seemingly forget that, even if this be so, they must likewise receive less than a hundred cents for the dollar that is due them. Whether the dollar that they owe to-day or the dollar that is due them to-morrow will have the greater or less number of cents depends on the shifting of causes which they can neither control nor foresee; and, therefore, all certain calculation in trade is set at defiance, and those branches of business which take on the form of gambling are by financial paradox the most secure and most promising. . . .

"The national bank system, Mr. Chairman, was one of the results of the war, and the credit of its origin belongs to the late Salmon P. Chase, then Secretary of the Treasury, and it may not be unprofitable just here to recall to the House the circumstances which at the time made the national banks a necessity to the government. At the outbreak of the war there were considerably over a thousand State banks, of various degrees of responsibility or irresponsibility, scattered throughout the country. Their charters demanded the redemption of their bills in specie, and under the pressure of this requirement their aggregate circulation was kept within the decent limits, but the amount of it was, in most instances, left to the discretion of the directors, and not a few of these banks issued ten dollars of bills for one of specie in their vaults. With the passage of the legal tender act, however, followed an enormous issue of government notes; the State banks would no longer be required to redeem in specie, and would, therefore, at once flood the country with their own bills, and take from the government its resources in that direction. To restrict and limit their circulation, and

to make the banks as helpful as possible in the great work of sustaining the government finances the national bank act was passed.

It is greatly to be deplored, Mr. Chairman, that many candid men have conceived the notion that it would be a saving to the people if all banks could be dispensed with, and the circulating medium be furnished by the government issuing legal tenders. I do not stop here to argue that this would be in violation of the government's pledge not to issue more than four hundred millions of its own notes. I merely remark that that pledge is binding in honor until legal tenders are redeemable in coin on presentation, and when that point is reached there will be no desire, as there will certainly be no necessity, for government issuing additional notes. . . .

"It is a singular circumstance, Mr. Chairman—one of those odd happenings sometimes brought about by political mutations—that those who urge this scheme upon the government are Democrats, every one of whom would doubtless claim to be a true disciple of Andrew Jackson, and yet all the evils of which Jackson warned the country in his famous controversy with the United States Bank are a thousand fold magnified, and a thousand fold aggravated, in this plan of making the treasury department itself the bank, with Congress for the governing board of directors. I commend to gentlemen of Democratic antecedents a careful perusal of Jackson's great message of July 10, 1832, and I wish them to frankly tell this House how they think Jackson would have regarded the establishment of a great national paper-money machine, to be located for all time in the treas-

ury department, the bills of which shall have no provision for their redemption, and the amount of those bills to be determined by a majority vote in a party caucus. . . .

“It is urged by the opponents of the banking system that the three hundred and twenty millions of bank circulation can be supplied by legal tenders and the interests on that amount of bonds stopped! How? Does any gentleman suppose that the bonds owned by the banks, and on deposit in the treasury, will be exchanged for legal tenders of a new and inflated issue? Those bonds are payable, principal and interest, in gold; and, with the present amount of legal tender notes, they are worth in the market \$1.16 to \$1.25. What will they be worth in paper money when you double the amount of legal tenders and postpone the day of specie resumption far beyond the vision of prophet or seer? And this enormous issue of legal tenders to take the place of bank notes is only the beginning of the policy to be inaugurated. The ‘wants of trade’ would speedily demand another issue, for the essential nature of an irredeemable currency is that it has no limit till a reaction is born of crushing disaster. A lesson might be learned (by those willing to be taught by fact and experience) from the course of events during the war. When we had one hundred and fifty millions of legal tender in circulation, it stood for a long while nearly at par with gold. As the issue increased in amount the depreciation was very rapid, and at the time we fixed the four hundred million limit, that whole vast sum had less purchasing power in exchange for lands, or houses, or merchandize than the hundred and fifty millions had two years before. In the spring of 1862, \$150,000,000 of legal ten-

der would buy in the market \$147,000,000 in gold coin. In June, 1864, \$400,000,000 of legal tender would buy only \$140,000,000 in gold coin. . . .

“Among the anomalies presented in the currency discussion, Mr. Chairman, is that the West and the South shall have so large an element clamorous for inflation. Of all sections interested in the specie standard, the West and the South stand first. The great staples produced in those vast and fertile regions, wheat, corn, flour, beef, pork, hides, tobacco, hemp, cotton, rice, and sugar, are inevitably and peremptorily subjected to the gold standard when sold. The price of cotton sent to Lowell is just as much determined by the gold standard as that which is exported to Manchester, and the breadstuffs sold in New York are daily equaled with the prices of Liverpool Corn Exchange. And so of all the other commodities; and yet we hear representatives of the great interests that are thus compelled to sell at gold prices, resolute and determined in their demands that they shall be allowed to purchase all their supplies on the paper basis. When it is remembered that the whole of the annual crop in this country, reckoning all products, reaches the enormous amount of three thousand millions on the gold basis, and that the surplus not consumed by the producers is many hundreds of millions of dollars, and that the value of the whole is estimated by the gold standard, the farmers of the country may find profitable food for reflection in calculating what the agricultural interest loses every year by an irredeemable paper currency. . . .

“There is not a cotton plantation in the South, not a grain or grazing farm in the West, not a coal-pit or iron

furnace in Pennsylvania or Ohio, not a manufactory in New England, not a ship-yard on the Atlantic coast, not a lumber-camp from the Penobscot to the Columbia, not a mile of railway between the two oceans, that would not feel the quickening, gainful influence of a final and general acquiescence in measures looking to specie payment. The Republicans meditate no harsh, or hasty, or destructive policy on this question, but one that shall be firm, considerate, and conclusive. The Democracy, by refusing to co-operate in the good work, can keep the matter in agitation and prolong the era of dullness and inactivity in the country. Having stubbornly refused to vote for legal-tenders when the salvation of the Union demanded them, that party can now fittingly complete its financial record by resisting all honest efforts to restore the specie standard to the people. . . .

“To-day, the total debts of the American people, national, State, and municipal, are not so large in proportion to already acquired property as was the national debt alone in 1790, and when we take into the account the relative productive power of the two periods, our present burdens are absolutely inconsiderable. When we reflect what the railway, the telegraph, the cotton-gin, and our endless mechanical inventions and agencies have done for us in the way of increasing our capacity for producing wealth, we should be ashamed to pretend that we can not bear larger burdens than our ancestors; and remember, Mr. Chairman, that our wealth from 1790 to 1870 increased more than five times as rapidly as our population, and the same development is even now progressing with a continually accelerating ratio. Re-

member, also, that the annual income and earnings of our people are larger than those of any European country, larger than those of England or France, or Russia or the German Empire. The English people stand next to us, but we are largely in advance of them. The annual income of our entire people exceeds six thousand millions in gold, and despite financial reverses and revulsions is steadily increasing.

“In view of these facts, it would be an unpardonable moral weakness in our people—always heroic when heroism is demanded—to doubt their own capacity to maintain specie payment. I am not willing myself to acknowledge that as a people we are less competent than were our ancestors in 1790; still less honorable, less courageous, or less competent than were our ancestors in 1790; still less am I ready to own that the people of the entire Union have not the pluck and the capacity of our friends and kinsmen in California; and last of all would I confess that the United States of America, with forty-four millions of inhabitants, with a territory surpassing all Europe in area, and I might almost say all the world in fertility of resources, are not able to do what a handful of British subjects, scattered from Cape Grace to Vancouver Island, can do so easily, so steadily, and so successfully. . . .

“The act providing for resumption in 1879 requires, in the judgment of the Secretary of the Treasury, some additional legislation to make it practical and effective. As it stands it fixes a date, but gives no adequate process; and the paramount duty of Congress is to provide a process. And in all legislation looking to that end it must be borne in mind that, unless we move in harmony with the great busi-

ness interests of the country, we shall assuredly fail. Specie payment can only be brought about by wise and well considered legislation, based on the experience of other nations, embodying the matured wisdom of the country, healthfully promoting all legitimate business, and carefully avoiding every thing that may tend to create fear and distrust among the people. In other words, what we most need as the outgrowth of legislation is confidence, public and private, general and individual. To-day we are suffering from the timidity of capital, and so long as the era of doubt and uncertainty prevails that timidity will continue and increase. Steps toward inflation will make it chronic; unwise steps toward resumption will not remove it. We shall have discharged our full duty in Congress if we can mature a measure which will steadily advance our currency to the specie standard, and at the same time work in harmony with the reviving industries and great commercial wants of the country.

“In any event, Mr. Chairman, whatever we may do, or whatever we may leave undone, on this whole financial question, let us not delude ourselves with the belief that we can escape the specie standard. It rules us to-day, and has ruled us throughout the whole legal tender period, just as absolutely as though we were paying and receiving coin daily. Our work, our fabrics, our commodities, are all measured by it, and so long as we cling to irredeemable paper money we have all the burdens and disadvantages of the gold standard, with none of its aids and gains and profits. ‘The thing which hath been is that which shall be.’ The great law-giver of antiquity records in the very

opening chapters of Genesis that 'the gold of the land of Havilah is good,' and, with another precious metal, it has maintained its rank to this day. No nation has ever succeeded in establishing any other standard of value; no nation has ever made the experiment except at great cost and sorrow, and the advocates of irredeemable money to-day are but asking us to travel the worn and weary road, traveled so many times before—a road that has always ended in disaster, and often in disgrace."

CHAPTER X.

BLAINE IN PUBLIC LIFE.—Continued.

"The great high road of human welfare lies along the old highway of steadfast well-doing; and they who are the most persistent, and work in the truest spirits, will invariably be the most successful; success treads on the heels of every right effort."

SMILES.

IN THE SENATE.

JULY 3, 1876, Governor Connor, of Maine, appointed Mr. Blaine to the high and important position of Senator of the United States, to succeed Hon. Lot M. Morrill. Mr. Morrill had resigned to accept the post of Secretary of the Treasury, just vacated by the retirement of Hon. Benjamin F. Bristow. At the succeeding session of the Maine Legislature, Mr. Blaine was elected to the Senate.

An exciting presidential campaign was just getting warm, with Hayes as the nominee of one party and Tilden of the other. The result seemed to indicate that if either was elected, both were, so evenly balanced were the returns. The complication thus occasioned was grave indeed, and some leading men of the country professed to fear all sorts of untoward things, even civil war. At the meeting of Congress in December, a plan was agreed upon for settlement of the dispute. A bill providing for an Electoral Commission, to consist of five Senators, five Representatives, and five Judges of the Supreme Court, was agreed upon by a com-

mittee composed of members of both Houses, and promptly reported. After a heated debate, it became a law in January, 1877, and provided that all disputed election returns should be referred for adjudication to the commission thus created. The count was not concluded till the 2d of March, when it was decided that 185 electoral votes were cast for Hayes and Wheeler, and 184 for Tilden and Hendricks. Mr. Blaine opposed the Electoral Commission bill, and while it was pending in the Senate spoke upon it as follows:

“Mr. President, I have, I trust, as profound an appreciation as any Senator on this floor of the gravity of the situation. I would not, if I could, underrate it, and no public good can result from overstating it. I have felt anxious from the first day of the session to join in any wise measure that would tend to allay public uneasiness and to restore, or at least maintain, public confidence. In this spirit I followed the lead of the honorable chairman of the Judiciary Committee [Mr. Edmunds], in December, in an effort to secure a Constitutional Amendment, which would empower the Supreme Court of the United States to peacefully and promptly settle all the troubles growing out of the disputed electoral votes. I knew there were weighty objections to any measure connecting the judiciary with the political affairs of the country; but I nevertheless thought, and I still think, that under the impressive sanction of a Constitutional Amendment, the angry difficulties growing out of a presidential contest might with safety and satisfaction be adjusted by that supreme tribunal which, combining dignity, honor, learning, and presumed impartiality, would be regarded by men of all parties as a trustworthy repository.

“It was in that spirit and with these views that I voted for the Constitutional Amendment, which I regret to say failed to commend itself to the Senate. It was defeated, and I refer to it now only to show that I have not been reluctant to make any proper and constitutional adjustment of pending difficulties. I am not wedded to any particular plan except that of the Constitution, nor have I any pet theories outside of the Constitution; and, unlike a good many gentlemen on both sides of the chamber with whom I am newly associated here, I have no embarrassing record on this question of ‘counting the votes.’

“But Mr. President, looking at the measure under consideration, and looking at it with every desire to co-operate with those who are so warmly advocating it, I am compelled to withhold the support of my vote. I am not prepared to vest any body of men with the tremendous power which this bill gives to fourteen gentlemen, four of whom are to complete their number by selecting a fifteenth, and selecting a fifteenth under such circumstances as throughout the length and breadth of the land impart a peculiar interest, I might say an absorbing interest, to what Mr. Benton termed in the Texas Indemnity bill, ‘that coy and bashful blank.’ I do not believe that Congress itself has the power which it proposes to confer on these fifteen gentlemen. I do not profess to be what is termed, in the current phrase of the day, a ‘constitutional lawyer,’ but every Senator voting under the obligations of his oath and his conscience must ultimately be his own constitutional lawyer. And I deliberately say that I do not believe that Congress possesses the power itself, and still less the power to transfer to any body of fourteen,

or fifteen, or fifty gentlemen, that with which it is now proposed to invest five Senators, five Representatives, and five Judges of the Supreme Court. I did not at this late hour of the night rise to make an argument, but merely to state the ground, the constitutional and conscientious ground, on which I feel compelled to vote against the pending bill. I have had a great desire to co-operate with my political friends who are advocating it, but every possible inclination of that kind has been removed and dispelled by the very arguments brought in support of the bill, able and exhaustive as they have been on that side of the question.

“I beg to make one additional remark through you, Mr. President, to the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, that while this subject is now in the public mind as it never has been before from the foundation of the government, when the leading jurists of the country have been investigating it as never before, that they will not allow this session of Congress to close without carefully maturing and submitting to the States a Constitutional Amendment which will remove so far as possible all embarrassments in the future. The people of this country, without regard to party, desire in our government due and orderly procedure under the sanction of law, and that I am sure is what is desired by every Senator on this floor, and by none more ardently than by myself. Let us then, if possible, guard against all trouble in the future by some wise and timely measure that will be just to all parties and all sections, and, above all, just to our obligations under the Constitution.”

Senator Blaine opposed President Hayes's Southern policy, and took a decided stand against the President's action in

recognizing the Democratic State Governments in South Carolina and Louisiana in the Spring of 1877.

When the Senate considered the bill authorizing the free coinage of the standard silver dollar, and to restore its legal tender character, Mr. Blaine offered a substitute for the bill, containing three propositions, as he states in these words :

“ 1. That the dollar shall contain four hundred and twenty-five grains of standard silver, shall have unlimited coinage, and be an unlimited legal tender.

“ 2. That all profits of coinage shall go to the government, and not to the operator in silver bullion.

“ 3. That silver dollars or silver bullion, assayed and mint-stamped, may be deposited with the assistant treasurer of New York, for which coin certificates may be issued, the same in denomination as United States notes, not below ten dollars, and that these shall be redeemable on demand in coin or bullion, thus furnishing a paper circulation based on an actual deposit of precious metal, giving us notes as valuable as those of the Bank of England, and doing away at once with the dreaded inconvenience of silver on account of bulk and weight.”

Mr. Blaine presented his views on the Silver Question in a rather lengthy and very able speech, on the day he offered his substitute, which was February 7, 1878. The concluding portion of his speech read thus :

“ The effect of paying the labor of this country in silver coin of full value, as compared with the irredeemable paper, or as compared even with silver of inferior value, will make itself felt in a single generation to the extent of tens of millions, perhaps hundreds of millions, in the aggregate savings

which represent consolidated capital. It is the instinct of man, from the savage to the scholar—developed in childhood and remaining with age—to value the metals which in all tongues are called precious. Excessive paper money leads to extravagance, to waste, and to want, as we painfully witness on all sides to-day. And in the midst of the proof of its demoralizing and destructive effect, we hear it proclaimed in the halls of Congress that ‘the people demand cheap money.’ I deny it. I declare such a phrase to be a total misapprehension—a total misinterpretation of the popular wish. The people do not demand cheap money. They demand an abundance of good money, which is an entirely different thing. They do not want a single gold standard, that will exclude silver and benefit those already rich. They do not want an inferior silver standard, that will drive out gold and not help those already poor. They want both metals, in full value, in equal honor, in whatever abundance the bountiful earth will yield them to the searching eye of science and to the hard hand of labor.

“The two metals have existed, side by side, in harmonious, honorable companionship as money, ever since intelligent trade was known among men. It is well-nigh forty centuries since ‘Abraham weighed to Ephron four hundred shekels of silver—current money with the merchant.’ Since that time nations have risen and fallen, races have disappeared, dialects and languages have been forgotten, arts have been lost, treasures have perished, continents have been discovered, islands have been sunk in the sea, and through all these ages, and through all these changes silver and gold have reigned supreme as the representation of value, as the

media of exchange. The dethronement of each has been attempted in turn, and sometimes the dethronement of both; but always in vain! And we are here to-day, deliberating anew over the problem which comes down to us from Abraham's time—the *weight of the silver* that shall be 'current money with the merchant.' ”

It has been a prominent part of the policy of Mr. Blaine, in public life, to stand armed against the undue domination of foreign states in the affairs of America. He has consistently and persistently denied the right of any foreign state to exercise a control over questions purely American. Whenever a measure has been sprung, touching the strict independence of the country, Blaine has been found with drawn sword ready to repel the assault. This policy has led him, not infrequently, to take the arena in opposition to measures which he deemed likely to affect unfairly the high rank of the American Republic. It was this principle of action which brought him into prominence during the debate in the Senate on the Halifax Fishery Award, in 1878. He was one of the most indignant of all at what he deemed the treachery and overreaching of Great Britain in that matter. Finally consenting to accept the report of the Committee on Foreign Relations, he nevertheless left on record a ringing protest against some of the principles and facts involved in the controversy. On the first of June he delivered an address in the Senate, the spirit of which may be inferred from the following extract :

“ Mr. President, I shall support the report made by the Committee on Foreign Relations, although I wish that some amendments could be made to it. But I do not concur in

what was implied in the remarks of the Senator from Ohio, on this subject, that Great Britain had discharged her duties under this treaty with exemplary fidelity, and that we were in danger of not following a good example. I maintain that from the first, throughout the whole of the treaty—and I know I am taking what has not been heretofore a popular side, or the generally accepted version—it has been a treaty of a singularly one-sided character, in which, as I shall show, the entire advantage was gained by Great Britain, and in the parts that she has not esteemed it to be her interest to fulfill it, she has declined to fulfill it. Up to this day one of the most important parts of the treaty has been evaded, and its fulfillment refused by Great Britain. Let me explain. When the Joint High Commission came to consider what were known as the Alabama Claims, they agreed upon three rules which Great Britain diplomatically disavowed through her commissioners to have been accepted rules of international law at the time, but said that they would agree to them as the basis of a settlement, and they might go before the tribunal as if they had been in force as principles of international law at the time of their alleged infraction. Then Great Britain and the United States, in binding themselves to the observance of these rules in future, assumed another mutual obligation in this clause of the treaty:

“‘And the high contracting parties agree to observe these rules between themselves in future, and to bring them to the knowledge of the other maritime powers and to invite them to accede to them.’

“Unless I am entirely misinformed, and I think I am correctly informed, Great Britain has refused up to this

time, and it has been seven years this month since the treaty was perfected, to join with the United States in asking the other maritime powers to agree to those rules. I have ground for believing this statement to be substantially, if not literally, true, and if the Senate will support me in a resolution which I shall offer, we shall find out, authentically, that Mr. Fish, lately Secretary of State, advised Great Britain that, refusing to join with the United States in proposing these rules for other maritime powers, the United States would be justified in treating them as a nullity. I do not pretend at all to be inside of the secrets and aims and purposes of British diplomacy, but I do know that having got those three rules which bind us very tightly, which makes us keep a very sharp police on fifteen thousand miles of ocean front that encircle our own dominions, and hold us accountable for any privateers or depredators or 'Alabamas,' or any sort of cruisers that may get out in case Great Britain goes to war with Russia, as is now possible if not probable (I hope not even probable), and makes us accountable in damages afterward for any losses thus resulting to her subjects—that while she holds us thus closely under the three rules, she has not asked another nation in all Europe to be bound by those rules; she has refused to join the United States in asking the maritime powers to accept them and be bound by them. I do not believe in having one part of the treaty quoted on us to the letter 'which killeth,' and then to have the part which does not exactly comport with the interest of Great Britain, absolutely slurred over and denied.

"I repeat, I do not pretend to see any further through

secret and hidden motives than any body else, and I do not pretend to know, much less do I pretend to state, what the motive of Great Britain is, although I have heard it, and I have heard it was because the government of the German Empire objected to those rules being made general in Europe. At all events it is known, and we ought to know here authentically—and it would be some advantage to know it before we pass on the measure—we ought to know authentically what has transpired between this government and the government of Great Britain with regard to these three rules, which were so finely chiseled and so closely drawn and so narrowly constructed that when we got into the tribunal, at Geneva, we were practically powerless. When confessedly the aid and support of Great Britain to the rebellion had been hundreds of millions of dollars of damage to this country; when they swept our mercantile marine, two-thirds of it, out of existence; when their aid and countenance to the Confederacy had destroyed one of the great leading interests of the United States, we consented to such a narrow construction of these three rules as absolutely cut us down to fifteen and a half million dollars for damages, and Great Britain at once gets seven and a half millions of that back—two millions on the Washington Claims Commission, of 1871–72, and now five and a half millions more on this fishery award.

“So, when the Senator from Ohio holds up the example of Great Britain to us to imitate in this matter, I beg him to observe what Great Britain’s course has been in regard to this part of the treaty. It was Great Britain’s highest interest to pay the Geneva award. She never paid fifteen

million dollars in her life that was so good an investment as that was, under the circumstances. Whether we can find any body, under the narrow rules that were laid down, that is a lawful claimant for the money awarded us at Geneva, is quite another thing; that is for us to determine; but Great Britain herself gained the incalculable advantage of making us a practical ally to her, willing or unwilling, in all her contests with European powers. The Russians are watched by every form of observation if they land on the coast of Maine, or if they buy a vessel in New York or Philadelphia; and the moment there is a declaration of war, instead of Great Britain doing the watching, we shall be compelled, under the three rules, to do it ourselves. We shall be forced on the anxious-seat, and if a Russian vessel should escape from our coast, and Great Britain could show that we have not used due diligence, we are to be responsible in the amounts of money that may result from her depredations on British commerce. Great Britain gets all these vast advantages out of us, and then refuses, as I say, for some reason, and continues to refuse, up to this time, to agree that other maritime nations, in whose adoption of these three rules we might have very great interests, shall act on them—refuses even to submit them, as the treaty bound her to do—and she has permitted seven years to go by without so much as uniting with us in asking a single European power to accept them.

“Now, let us go back a little, inasmuch as we are discussing this subject generally, as the Senator from Ohio has introduced it. When the war broke out, in 1861, Mr. Seward, through our minister at the Court of St. James, Mr.

Adams, immediately proposed that the United States should become a party to the treaty of Paris, to which there had been forty-six or forty-seven nations of the earth already parties, to suppress privateering. Lord John Russell, recently deceased, apparently received the proposition with the utmost complaisance, and agreed to it; and after the agreement was made, and we thought the treaty was about to become a regular convention between the two governments, he put in a condition that it should not at all affect the existing relations between Great Britain and the Confederate States, or that the question should not in the least degree be affected by the relations of any internal dissensions in the United States; in other words, that if we lived to survive the Rebellion in the United States, the very time when we should not need the advantage of this treaty, we might enjoy it; but that, pending that, we should not have any advantage from it at all. And the British Government would not agree, on the other hand, that if any disturbance should take place in any part of the British Empire, we should not be similarly bound as England was then. Let me read just what Mr. Seward said on that point:

“‘The proposed declaration is inadmissable, among other reasons, because it is not mutual. It proposes a special rule by which her majesty’s obligations shall be meliorated in their bearing upon internal difficulties now prevailing in the United States, while the obligations to be assumed by the United States shall not be similarly meliorated, or at all affected in their bearing on internal differences that may now be prevailing or may hereafter arise and prevail in Great Britain.’”

“The whole of it was one-sided. And now I will give the honorable Senator from Ohio a very substantial reason

why the government of the United States ought to proceed to the payment of the fishery award in a different manner from that which the government of Great Britain adopted with reference to the Geneva award. The struggles between the Dominion of Canada, or that which now constitutes the Dominion of Canada, the British-American provinces, and the United States, for reciprocal relations of trade and commerce, have been troublesome questions for eighty years, and every time we have attempted to adjust them, the fisheries have been put forward as the stumbling-block in the way of a fair agreement; and the payment of the five and a half millions settles the question for only twelve years, and then it is all open again. But, on the other hand, the fifteen and a half millions, paid in pursuance of the Geneva award, closed that account for all time; or, if it left it open at all, it left it open with the three rules operating in Great Britain's favor. But let us pay this five and a half millions, as the honorable Senator from Ohio invites us to do; let us walk up without saying one word, and pay this five and a half million of dollars to Great Britain, and what is the result? It is inevitably accepted by the government of Great Britain as a concession on the part of the government of the United States, as a just measure of value of those fishery privileges, and any subsequent notice that we might give, six or eight years hence, would be treated as an afterthought. If we do not make that point at this time, we lose all the advantage of making it at all; and if we now pay that money without in some form emphatically entering our dissent from it as a just measure of the value of the fisheries, we are estopped from ever pleading it hereafter, and we shall have committed

ourselves to the conclusion that those fisheries, in reciprocal arrangements for trade between the Dominion of Canada and the United States, are to be reckoned as of the value of a half million dollars per annum *bonus* from the United States, in addition to the admission of Canadian fish free of duty to our markets.

“This question, Mr. President, has some sectional and local relation, I know. We are much more affected by it where I come from than are the people where the Senator from Ohio comes from. It is a matter of daily, very pressing interest with us, and we know very well that if we sit still here and consent to this award being accepted publicly as a just measure of value, we can never have the trade between the Dominion of Canada and the United States regulated thereafter upon any fair, equitable, amicable basis.”

On no subject have the views of Mr. Blaine been more pronounced and unequivocal than on that relating to the freedom and purity of elections. On this subject he has never given forth an uncertain sound. During the third session of the Forty-fifth Congress he distinguished himself in the Senate by his tremendous outcry against the fraudulent methods by which the electors of the Southern States, both black and white, had been terrorized to the level of a degraded servitude. One of his best speeches was delivered during that session on the exercise of the elective franchise.

The resolutions which brought on the debate were presented by himself, as follows :

“*Resolved*, That the Committee on the Judiciary be instructed to inquire and report to the Senate whether at the recent elections the constitutional rights of American citizens were violated in any

of the States of the Union ; whether the right of suffrage of citizens of the United States, or of any class of such citizens, was denied or abridged by the action of the election officers of any State in refusing to receive their votes, in failing to count them, or in receiving and counting fraudulent ballots in pursuance of a conspiracy to make the lawful votes of such citizens of none effect ; and whether such citizens were prevented from exercising the elective franchise ; or forced to use it against their wishes, by violence or threats, or hostile demonstrations of armed men or other organizations, or by any other unlawful means or practices.

“ Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary be further instructed to inquire and report whether it is within the competency of Congress to provide by additional legislation for the more perfect security of the right of suffrage to citizens of the United States in all the States of the Union.

“ Resolved, That in prosecuting these inquiries the judiciary committee shall have the right to send for persons and papers.”

On these resolutions Mr. Blaine addressed the Senate as follows :

“ Mr. President, the pending resolutions were offered by me, with a two-fold purpose in view :

“ First, to place on record, in a definite and authentic form, the frauds and outrages by which some recent elections were carried by the Democratic party in the Southern States.

“ Second, to find if there be any method by which a repetition of these crimes against a free ballot may be prevented.

“ The newspaper is the channel through which the people of the United States are informed of current events, and the accounts given in the press represent the elections in some of the Southern States to have been accompanied by violence ; in not a few cases reaching the destruction of life ;

to have been controlled by threats that awed and intimidated a large class of voters, to have been manipulated by fraud of the most shameless and shameful description. Indeed, in South Carolina there seems to have been no election at all in any proper sense of the term. There was instead a series of skirmishes over the State in which the polling-places were regarded as forts to be captured by one party and held against the other, and where this could not be done with convenience, frauds in the count and tissue-ballot devices were resorted to in order to effectually destroy the voice of the majority. These, in brief, are the accounts given in the non-partisan press of the disgraceful outrages that attended the recent elections, and so far as I have seen these statements are without serious contradiction. It is but just and fair to all parties, however, that an impartial investigation of the facts shall be made by a committee of the Senate, proceeding under the authority of law, and representing the power of the nation. Hence my resolutions.

“But we do not need investigation to establish certain facts already of official record. We know that one hundred and six representatives in Congress were recently chosen in the States formerly slave-holding, and that the Democrats elected one hundred and one, or possibly one hundred and two, and the Republicans four, or possibly five. We know that thirty-five of these representatives were assigned to the Southern States by reason of the colored population, and that the entire political power thus founded on the numbers of the colored people has been seized and appropriated to the aggrandizement of its own strength by the Democratic party of the South.

“The issue thus raised before the country, Mr. President, is not one of mere sentiment for the rights of the negro, though far distant be the day when the rights of any American citizen, however black or however poor, shall form the mere dust of the balance in any controversy; nor is the issue one that involves the waving of the “bloody shirt,” to quote the elegant vernacular of Democratic vituperation; nor still further is the issue as now presented only a question of the equality of the black voter of the South with the white voter of the South. The issue, Mr. President, has taken a far wider range, one of portentous magnitude; and that is, whether the white voter of the North shall be equal to the white voter of the South in shaping the policy and fixing the destiny of this country; or whether, to put it still more baldly, the white man who fought in the ranks of the Union army shall have as weighty and influential a vote in the government of the republic as the white man who fought in the ranks of the rebel army. The one fought to uphold, the other to destroy, the union of the States, and to-day he who fought to destroy is a far more important factor in the government of the Nation than he who fought to uphold it.

“Let me illustrate my meaning by comparing groups of States of the same representative strength North and South. Take the States of South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana, they send seventeen representatives to Congress. Their aggregate population is composed of ten hundred and thirty-five thousand whites and twelve hundred and twenty-four thousand colored, the colored being nearly two hundred thousand in excess of the whites. Of the seventeen repre-

sentatives, then, it is evident that nine were apportioned to these States by reason of their colored population, and only eight by reason of their white population; and yet, in choice of the entire seventeen representatives the colored voters had no more voice or power than their remote kindred on the shores of Senegambia or on the gold coast. The ten hundred and thirty-five thousand white people had the sole and absolute choice of the entire seventeen representatives. In contrast, take two States in the North, Iowa and Wisconsin, with seventeen representatives. They have a white population of two million two hundred and forty-seven thousand—considerably more than double the entire white population of the three Southern States I have named. In Iowa and Wisconsin, therefore, it takes one hundred and thirty-two thousand white population to send a representative to Congress, but in South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana every sixty thousand white send a representative; in other words, sixty thousand white people in those Southern States have precisely the same political power in the government of the country that one hundred and thirty-two thousand white people have in Iowa and Wisconsin.

“Take another group of seventeen representatives from the South and from the North. Georgia, and Alabama have a white population of eleven hundred and fifty-eight thousand, and a colored population of ten hundred and twenty thousand. They send seventeen representatives to Congress, of whom nine were apportioned on account of the white population and eight on account of the colored population. But the colored voters were not able to choose a single rep-

representative, the white Democrats choosing the whole seventeen. The four Northern States, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, and California have seventeen representatives, based on a white population of two and a quarter millions, or almost double the white population of Georgia and Alabama, so that in these relative groups of States we find the white man South exercises by his vote double the political power of the white man North.

“Let us carry the comparison to a more comprehensive generalization. The eleven States that formed the Confederate Government had by the last census a population of nine and a half millions, of which in round numbers five and a half millions were white and four millions colored. On this aggregate population seventy-three representatives in Congress were appointed to those States—forty-two or three of whom were by reason of the white population, and thirty or thirty-one by reason of the colored population. At the recent election the white Democracy of the South seized seventy of the seventy-three districts, and thus secured a Democratic majority in the next House of Representatives. Thus it appears that throughout the States that formed the late Confederate Government, sixty-five thousand whites—the very people that rebelled against the Union—are enabled to elect a representative in Congress, while in the loyal States it requires one hundred and thirty-two thousand of the white people that fought for the Union to elect a representative. In levying every tax, therefore, in making every appropriation of money, in fixing every line of public policy, in decreeing what shall be the fate and fortune of the Republic, the Confederate soldier South is enabled

to cast a vote that is twice as powerful and twice as influential as the vote of the Union soldier North.

“But the white men of the South did not acquire, and do not hold this superior power by reason of law or justice, but in disregard and defiance of both. The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution was expected to be and was designed to be a preventive and corrective of all such possible abuses. The reading of the clause applicable to the case is instructive and suggestive; hear it:

“‘Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for choice of electors for President and Vice-president of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.’

“The patent, undeniable intent of this provision was that if any class of voters were denied or in any way abridged in their right of suffrage, then the class so denied or abridged should not be counted in the basis of the representation, or, in other words, that no State or States should gain a large increase of representation in Congress

by reason of counting any class of population not permitted to take part in electing such representatives. But the construction given to this provision is that before any forfeiture of representation can be enforced the denial or abridgment of suffrage must be the result of a law specifically enacted by the State. Under this construction every negro voter may have his suffrage absolutely denied, or fatally abridged by the violence, actual or threatened, of irresponsible mobs, or by frauds and deceptions of State officers from the governor down to the last election clerk, and then, unless some State law can be shown that authorizes the denial or abridgment, the State escapes all penalty or peril of reduced representation. This construction may be upheld by the courts ruling on the letter of the law, 'which killeth,' but the spirit of justice cries aloud against the evasive and atrocious conclusion that deals out oppression to the innocent, and shields the guilty from the legitimate consequences of willful transgression.

"The colored citizen is thus most unhappily situated; his right of suffrage is but a hollow mockery; it holds to his ear the word of promise, but breaks it always to his hope, and he ends only in being made the unwilling instrument of increasing the political strength of that party from which he received ever-tightening fetters when he was a slave, and contemptuous refusal of civil rights since he was made free. He resembles, indeed, those unhappy captives in the East who, deprived of their birthright, are compelled to yield their strength to the upbuilding of the monarch from whose tyrannies they have most to fear, and to fight against the power from which alone deliverance might be

expected. The franchise, intended for the shield and defense of the negro, has been turned against him and against his friends, and has vastly increased the power of those from whom he has nothing to hope and every thing to dread.

“The political power thus appropriated by Southern Democrats, by reason of the negro population, amounts to thirty-five Representatives in Congress. It is massed almost solidly, and offsets the great State of New York; or Pennsylvania and New Jersey together; or the whole of New England; or Ohio and Indiana united; or the combined strength of Illinois, Minnesota, Kansas, California, Nevada, Nebraska, Colorado, and Oregon. The seizure of this power is wanton usurpation; it is flagrant outrage; it is violent perversion of the whole theory of republican government. It inures solely to the present advantage, and yet, I believe, to the permanent dishonor of the Democratic party. It is by reason of this trampling down of human rights, this ruthless seizure of unlawful power that the Democratic party holds the popular branch of Congress to-day, and will, in less than ninety days, have control of this body also, thus grasping the entire legislative department of the government, through the unlawful capture of the Southern States. If the proscribed vote of the South were cast as its lawful owners desire, the Democratic party could not gain power. Nay, if it were not counted on the other side, against the instincts and the interests, against the principles and prejudices of its lawful owners, Democratic success would be hopeless. It is not enough, then, for modern Democratic tactics that the negro vote shall be silenced; the demand goes farther, and insists that it shall be counted on their side, that all the Representatives

in Congress, and all the presidential electors apportioned by reason of the negro vote, shall be so cast and so governed as to insure Democratic success—regardless of justice, in defiance of law.

“And this injustice is wholly unprovoked. I doubt if it be in the power of the most searching investigation to show that in any Southern State, during the period of Republican control, any legal voter was ever debarred from the freest exercise of his suffrage. Even the revenges which would have leaped into life with many who despised the negro were buried out of sight with a magnanimity which the “Superior Race” fail to follow and seem reluctantly to recognize. I know it is said in retort of such charges against the Southern elections as I am now reviewing, that unfairness of equal gravity prevails in Northern elections. I hear it in many quarters and read it in the papers, that in the late exciting election in Massachusetts, intimidation and bulldozing, if not so rough and rancorous as in the South, were yet as widespread and effective.

“I have read, and yet I refuse to believe, that the distinguished gentleman who made an energetic but unsuccessful canvass for the governorship of that State, has indorsed and approved these charges, and I have accordingly made my resolutions broad enough to include their thorough investigation. I am not demanding fair elections in the South without demanding fair elections in the North also; but venturing to speak for the New England States, of whose laws and customs I know something, I dare assert that in the late election in Massachusetts, or any of her neighboring commonwealths, it will be impossible to find even one case

where a voter was driven from the polls, where a voter did not have the fullest, fairest, freest opportunity to cast the ballot of his choice and have it honestly and faithfully counted in the returns. Suffrage on this continent was first made universal in New England, and in the administration of their affairs her people have found no other appeal necessary than that which is addressed to their honesty of conviction and to their intelligent self-interest. If there be anything different to disclose, I pray you show it to us that we may amend our ways.

“But whenever a feeble protest is made against such injustice as I have described in the South, the response we get comes to us in the form of a taunt, ‘What are you going to do about it?’ and ‘How do you propose to help yourselves?’ This is the stereotyped answer of defiance which intrenched wrong always gives to inquiring justice; and those who imagine it to be conclusive do not know the temper of the American people. For, let me assure you, that against the complicated outrage upon the right of representation lately triumphant in the South, there will be arrayed many phases of public opinion in the North, not often hitherto in harmony. Men who have cared little, and affected to care less, for the rights or the wrongs of the negro, suddenly find that vast monetary and commercial interests, great questions of revenue, adjustments of tariff, vast investments in manufactures, in railways, and in mines, are under the control of a Democratic Congress, whose majority was obtained by depriving the negro of his rights under a common law Constitution and common laws. Men who have expressed disgust with the waving of bloody shirts, and who have been offended with

talk about negro equality, are beginning to perceive that the pending question of to-day relates more pressingly to the equality of white men under this government, and that, however careless they may be about the rights of their own race and the dignity of their own firesides and their own kindred.

“I know something of public opinion in the North. I know a great deal about the views, wishes, and purposes of the Republican party of the Nation. Within that entire great organization there is not one man whose opinion is entitled to be quoted that does not desire peace and harmony and friendship, and a patriotic and fraternal union between the North and South. This wish is spontaneous, instinctive, universal throughout the Northern States; and yet, among men of character and sense, there is surely no need of attempting to deceive ourselves as to the precise truth. First pure, then peaceable. Gush will not remove a grievance, and no disguise of State's rights will close the eyes of our people to the necessity of correcting a great National wrong. Nor should the South make the fatal mistake of concluding that injustice to the negro is not also injustice to the white man; nor should it ever be forgotten that for the wrongs of both a remedy will assuredly be found. The war, with all its costly sacrifices, was fought in vain unless equal rights for all classes be established in all the States in the Union. And now, in words which are those of friendship, however differently they may be accepted, I tell the men of the South, here on this floor, and beyond this chamber, that even if they could strip the negro of his constitutional rights, they can never permanently maintain the inequality of white men in this Nation; they can never make a white

man's vote in the South doubly as powerful in the administration of the government as a white man's vote in the North.

“ In a memorable debate in the House of Commons, Mr. Macaulay reminded Daniel O'Connell when he was moving for repeal, that the English Whigs had endured calumny, abuse, popular fury, loss of position, exclusion from Parliament, rather than the great agitator himself should be less than a British subject, and Mr. Macaulay warned him that they would never suffer him to be more. Let me now remind you that the government, under whose protecting flag we sit to-day, sacrificed myriads of lives and expended thousands of millions of treasure that our countrymen of the South should remain citizens of the United States, having equal personal rights and equal political privileges with all other citizens, and I venture now and here to warn the men of the South, in the exact words of Macaulay, that we will never suffer them to be more!” [Applause in the galleries, which the Vice-president checked by rapping with his gavel.]

April 22, 1879, Mr. Blaine offered the following resolutions for the consideration of the Senate :

“ *Resolved*, That any radical change in our present tariff laws would, in the judgment of the Senate, be inopportune, would needlessly derange the business interests of the country, and would seriously retard that return to prosperity for which all should earnestly co-operate.

“ *Resolved*, That, in the judgment of the Senate, it should be the fixed policy of this government to so maintain our tariff for revenue as to afford adequate protection to American labor.”

On the first of May, 1878, Mr. Blaine called up his resolutions and urged their passage. He objected to the appointment of a tariff commission, in regard to which he said:

"I think one of the most mischievous measures in its effects, not of course so designed by the gentleman who may move it, would be to have a roving commission on the idea that, when they get through running hither and thither over the country, and examining this way and that way about the tariff, certain recommendations are to be made and certain changes are to take place. Nothing would more effectually unsettle the business of the country than that. That is only having the agitation of the subject which is now disturbing the country by its appearance in Congress transferred to a Commission. You only elongate the evil, you only increase it, you only keep drawing it out over a long time. There is no form, in my judgment, which the tariff discussion or tariff legislation could take that would be fraught with more mischief to the country than to have a commission sitting upon it. After they had made their report, it could not effect legislation here or influence the opinion of any person in either branch of Congress one way or the other. We have had many of these commissions upon divers and sundry subjects, and I have never known them to do a particle of good, so far as producing a result in practical legislation."

After which Senator Beck, of Kentucky, launched out on a tirade against our tariff laws, in response to which Mr. Blaine said:

"*Mr. President:* The honorable Senator from Kentucky

[Mr. Beck] quite prematurely, and without my expectation, launched forth into an argument on the subject of the tariff; and very naturally, taking the side he does, he quarrels with the civilization of the nineteenth century. He says it is the machinery that is to blame. We have got machinery in this country, he says, that will do the work of one hundred and seventy-five million men, and there is where all the trouble is. Of course, the logical result of the Senator's argument is to abolish the locomotive, the steam-engine, and all modern appliances of transportation and manufacture, and go back to the hand-loom and the wagon."

MR. BECK—"Oh, no; I beg pardon."

MR. BLAINE—"I did not interrupt the Senator, and I hope he will allow me to get through my argument."

MR. BECK—"You surely will not say that I intended any such thing as that."

MR. BLAINE—"I do not see any other result. The Senator says the whole trouble grows out of the fact that we have labor-saving machinery."

MR. BECK—"Allow me to put the Senator right there. My argument was that we need no protection because we have machinery equal to any other machinery, and that machinery can compete in the markets of the world. I wish we had more."

MR. BLAINE—"The Senator said—he may correct his argument now—that we had the machinery here, which was the slave of the owners of it, that they could command it to stand still or to turn when they chose, that the laborer was their servant, and that he had no independence outside of the machinery. I do not understand any logical result, or

see how the Senator can free the laborer from the position he puts him in, but by abolishing the machinery; I do not understand it otherwise. And I think among the anomalies that American politics turn up—and we meet many of them in this chamber—among the strange contradictions that history develops, is that the seat of Henry Clay, in the Senate of the United States, should be the place from which a free-trade argument to overthrow the American system and take the side of the free-trader should be made. It is one of the anomalies of American politics; and the argument of the Senator of Kentucky goes right back to what was said before the war by a distinguished Southern man—that he hoped to see the day when the old barter between the English ship that was anchored in the Savannah or the Potomac, or the Cooper or the Ashley, should be resumed with the planter who shipped directly to England; and it is that spirit to-day which holds in manacles and paralyzes the development of the Southern country.

“The Senator recalled to us the great tariff of Robert J. Walker, and cited to us the vast achievement of political philosophy and economy that man presented to us in his three reports of 1845, 1846, and 1847. Well, the tariff of Robert J. Walker had abundant opportunity to ‘run and be glorified’ in this country, and it ran us into bankruptcy, and want, and ruin. It was modified in 1857, going still further in the same direction. The years 1857–60 were years of financial ruin, and wide-spread disaster and want, in which the laborer was not employed. Those four years were much more severe in many portions of this country than even the four past years which we have just gone through.

“So, when the Senator presents to us the fact that Robert J. Walker established the tariff of 1846, he presents it as a beacon of warning to every man who remembers its effects throughout the length and breadth of the manufacturing industries of this country.

“There we see developed a little collision between our friends on the other side. When the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Beck] was laying down the Simon Pure Democratic doctrine as it was announced at the last national sandedrim of that party, the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Wallace] put in an exception, and the Senator from Pennsylvania said that it was fully understood that the free-trade side of the tariff question was not to be a Democratic doctrine, but that all the congressional districts were to be left to determine that matter for themselves. Everybody knows that was a contrivance got up for the benefit of gentlemen placed exactly in the delicate attitude of the Senator from Pennsylvania, who have protective-tariff constituents behind, allied with the free-trade party in the country at large; and the guise which was made for the benefit of Mr. Greeley in his campaign, was boldly thrown off at St. Louis when Mr. Tilden became the standard-bearer.

“The Senator from Kentucky warned us that the trouble is radical, and he called up the fact of an American ship being launched a few days since on the Delaware; and he said you may build that ship at the same rate that an English ship is, load her with goods manufactured in this country as cheaply as in England, and send her to her port, and the trouble is, she has nothing to bring back. I wish the Senator would give me his attention this moment.

“The Senator mentioned the City of Para and the port to which a vessel was destined to run. The City of Para was launched for a Brazilian line, and all the parade of Congress and the President that went over there was to inaugurate that line. Is not that the fact? You may mention any other South American port, but you do not change the argument a particle. We take a great deal more from all these countries than we send to them, and yet the Senator says the trouble is we can get no return cargo. His argument does not stand at all. Mr. President, there is no more hurtful agitation to-day in this country than the agitation of the tariff. The Senator talks of a lobby being here. That is always the cry when any thing comes up, ‘there is a lobby!’ Has the Senator seen a tariff lobby here?

“There is one very remarkable exception of raw material, and that is hemp, which is produced by the State of Kentucky. While the tariff-makers took good care to make almost all other raw materials cheap, I think the honorable Senator from Kentucky wisely looked out for his own State, and got a very large duty put on hemp, jute, and all kindred grasses.

“All I know on the point is that the Senator from Kentucky was a member of the Committee of Ways and Means, and that in the tariff bill reported there was a very large protection, which I believe still exists, on hemp. It was exceptionally large, as contrasted with the other raw materials needed for the manufactures of this country, and I always gave credit to the Senator from Kentucky, who is a watchful and able and zealous representative of his constituents, for getting that protection put in. He took good

care to have his own door-step swept very clean, but seems to have cared very little about what became of his neighbor's.

"If the Senator can show that there has not been, from the time he was a member of the Committee of Ways and Means, an exceptionally heavy duty on hemp, then he can show that I am mistaken, and I will very gracefully, or as gracefully as I can, acknowledge it; but I think the Senator from Kentucky will not be quite able to show the fact. I do not wish to trench upon the time given to other measures before the Senate, but this matter I hope will come up when we can have a freer discussion."

Here the debate closed.

On the bill making appropriations for arrears of pensions, March 1, 1879, Senator Blaine spoke as follows:

"*Mr. President:* The Senator from Ohio [Mr. Thurman] indulged himself in a line of remark which I hardly think was justifiable. He was arraigning this entire side of the chamber for running at the name of Jefferson Davis. I wish to say to the honorable Senator from Ohio, and to all the Senators on that side, that neither in this chamber nor in the other in which I have served, did I ever hear what he would call an attack made on Jefferson Davis, until he was borne into the chamber for some favor to be asked and some vote to be exacted. Who brought him here to-night? Who has brought him into Congress at different times? No Republican. No Republican Senator or Representative has ever asked censure or comment, or reference to him; but you bring here and ask us either to vote or keep silent; and if we do n't keep silent, then the honorable Senator is aston-

ished and indignant, and the honorable Senator from Mississippi [Mr. Lamar] thinks that a wanton insult is intended. I want the country to understand that it is that side of the chamber and not this side that brings Jefferson Davis to the front." . . .

MR. THURMAN—"I wish to ask the Senator to explain what he means by bringing Jefferson Davis here? Does he mean introducing the proposition to pension soldiers who served in Mexico?"

MR. BLAINE—"Yes, the measure you are agitating brings him here."

MR. THURMAN—"Then it is a crime?"

MR. BLAINE—"Not a crime at all. I am not charging the Senator with a crime, but I resent with some feeling that the Senator should look over to this side of the chamber and complain that we are taking some extraordinary course with the name of Jefferson Davis. We do not bring him here. You bear his mangled remains before us, and then if we do not happen to view them with the same admiration that seems to inspire the Senator from Ohio, we are doing something derogatory to our own dignity and to the honor of the country, and when the honorable Senator from Mississippi comes to his defense, the first word he had to speak for Mr. Davis was that he never counseled insurrection against the government. I took the words down."

MR. OGLESBY—"Since when?"

MR. BLAINE—"Since the close of the war. He has never counseled insurrection! Let us be thankful. Why should we not pension a man who has shown such loyalty that he has never counseled insurrection? That is from the

Representative of his own State. I took the words down when he spoke them. I was amazed; I did not exactly consider the words of the honorable Senator from Mississippi a wanton insult to apply to me or anybody else, but I consider them to be most extraordinary words, that when pleading the cause of Jefferson Davis at the bar of the American Senate to be pensioned on its roll of honor, his personal representative, his associate, his friend, his follower, commends him to the American people, because he has been so loyal that he has never counseled insurrection since the war was over.

“This is the man brought in here who, according to the Senator from Mississippi, is to go down to history the peer of Washington and Hampden, fighting in the same cause, entitled to the same niche in history, inspired by the same patriotic motives, to be admired for the same self-consecration.

“Let me tell the honorable Senator from Mississippi, that in all the years that I have served in Congress I have never voluntarily brought the name of Jefferson Davis before either branch, but I tell him that he is asking humanity to forget its instincts and patriotism to be changed to crime before he will find impartial history place Mr. Jefferson Davis anywhere in the roll that has for its brightest and greatest names George Washington and John Hampden.”

After Mr. Lamar had replied to this speech, Mr. Blaine resumed as follows :

“Why, Mr. President, does the honorable Senator from Mississippi declare that the policy of the government of the United States, administered as it has been through the Re-

publican party, has been one of intolerance toward those who were prominent in the war—if I may use the euphemism, and leave out rebellion—which is offensive to his ears? Do I understand the honorable Senator to maintain here on this floor that the government of the United States has been intolerant? Certainly the Senator does not mean that.”

After a colloquy with Mr. Lamar, Mr. Blaine resumed thus :

“The government of the United States never disfranchised or put under political disabilities more than fourteen thousand men in the entire South. Out of two millions who were in the war it never disfranchised over fourteen thousand men. There are not two hundred left to-day with political disabilities upon them. There is not one that ever respectfully or any other way petitioned to be relieved and was refused. I know very well what the honorable Senator from Ohio meant, when he said that Hon. Jefferson Davis should be commended because he was not an office-seeker and had not asked to be relieved of disabilities. Why, if the newspapers are to be credited, especially those in the Southern Democratic interest, Mr. Davis is a candidate for office; he is pledged to sit on the other side of this chamber two years hence, and the honorable Senator from Ohio will in the next Congress with his eloquence—I am predicting now—urge that these disabilities be removed from him. I predict further, that he will urge it without Jefferson Davis paying the respect to the great government against which he rebelled, simply asking in respectful language that disabilities be taken from him. He has never asked it; I am very sure that another great leader in the South, Mr.

Toombs, of Georgia, has boasted that he would never do it, and in the House of Representatives three years ago, when the general amnesty bill was pending and it was proposed that the amnesty should be granted merely on the condition that it should be asked for by each person desiring it, that it was resisted to the bitter end—this great government was to go to them and ask them if they would take it. The action of the Democratic House of Representatives—I am speaking of the past now, which is quite within parliamentary limits—the action of the Democratic House of Representatives was not that Jefferson Davis might have his disabilities removed upon respectful petition, but that we should go to him and petition him to allow us to remove them.”

When the bill to restrict Chinese emigration was under consideration in the spring of 1879, Mr. Blaine took a decided stand in its favor.

The following speech by Mr. Blaine, was delivered in the Senate, April 14, 1879 :

[The Senate having under consideration the bill (H. R. No. 1), making appropriations for the support of the army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1880, and for other purposes.]

“*Mr. President*: The existing section of the Revised Statutes numbered 2002, reads thus :

““No military or naval officer, or other person engaged in the civil, military, or naval service of the United States, shall order, bring, keep, or have under his authority or control, any troops or armed men at the place where any general or special election is held in any State, unless it be necessary to repel the armed enemies of the United States, *or to keep the peace at the polls.*”

“The object of the proposed section, which has just been read at the clerk’s desk, is to get rid of the eight closing words, namely, ‘or to keep the peace at the polls,’ and therefore the mode of legislation proposed in the Army Bill now before the Senate is an unusual mode; it is an extraordinary mode. If you want to take off a single sentence at the end of a section in the Revised Statutes the ordinary way is to strike off those words, but the mode chosen in this bill is to repeat and re-enact the whole section, leaving those few words out. While I do not wish to be needlessly suspicious on a small point, I am quite persuaded that this did not happen by accident, but that it came by design. If I may so speak, it came of cunning, the intent being to create the impression that, whereas the Republicans in the administration of the general government had been using troops right and left, hither and thither, in every direction, as soon as the Democrats got power they enacted this section. I can imagine Democratic candidates for Congress all over the country reading this section to gaping and listening audiences as one of the first offsprings of Democratic reform, whereas every word of it, every syllable of it, from its first to its last, is the the enactment of a Republican Congress.

“I repeat that this unusual form presents a dishonest issue, whether so intended or not. It presents the issue that as soon as the Democrats got possession of the Federal Government they proceeded to enact the clause which is thus expressed. The law was passed by a Republican Congress in 1865. There were forty-six Senators sitting in this Chamber at the time, of whom only ten, or at most eleven, were Democrats. The House of Representatives was over-

whelmingly Republican. We were in the midst of a war. The Republican administration had a million, or possibly twelve hundred thousand, bayonets at its command. Thus circumstanced and thus surrounded, with the amplest possible power to interfere with elections had they so designed, with soldiers in every hamlet and county of the United States, the Republican party themselves placed that provision on the statute-book, and Abraham Lincoln, their President, signed it.

“I beg you to observe, Mr. President, that this is the first instance in the legislation of the United States in which any restrictive clause whatever was put upon the statute-book in regard to the use of troops at the polls. The Republican party did it with the Senate and the House in their control. Abraham Lincoln signed it when he was commander-in-chief of an army larger than ever Napoleon Bonaparte had at his command. So much by way of correcting an ingenious and studied attempt at misrepresentation.

“The alleged object is to strike out the few words that authorize the use of troops to keep peace at the polls. This country has been alarmed—I rather think, indeed, amused—at the great effort made to create a wide-spread impression that the Republican party relies for its popular strength upon the use of the bayonet. This Democratic Congress has attempted to give a bad name to this country throughout the civilized world, and to give it on a false issue. They have raised an issue that has no foundation in fact—that is false in whole and detail, false in the charge, false in all the specifications. That impression sought to be

created, as I say, not only throughout the North American continent, but in Europe to-day, is that elections are attempted in this country to be controlled by the bayonet.

“I denounce it here as a false issue. I am not at liberty to say that any gentleman making the issue knows it to be false; I hope he does not; but I am going to prove to him that it is false, and that there is not a solitary inch of solid earth on which to rest the foot of any man that makes that issue. I have in my hand an official transcript of the location and the number of all the troops of the United States east of Omaha. By ‘east of Omaha,’ I mean all the United States east of the Mississippi River and that belt of States that border the Mississippi River on the west, including forty-one million at least out of the forty-five million of people that this country is supposed to contain to-day. In that magnificent area—I will not pretend to state its extent—but with forty-one million people, how many troops of the United States are there to-day? Would any Senator on the opposite side like to guess, or would he like to state how many men with muskets in their hands there are in the vast area I have named? There are two thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven! And not one more.

“From the headwaters of the Mississippi River to the lakes, and down the great chain of lakes, and down the Saint Lawrence, and down the valley of the Saint John, and down the Saint Croix, striking the Atlantic Ocean, and following it down to Key West, around the gulf, up to the mouth of the Mississippi again, a frontier of eight thousand miles, either bordering on the ocean or upon foreign terri-

tory is guarded by these troops. Within this domain forty-five fortifications are manned and eleven arsenals protected. There are sixty troops to every million of people. In the South I have the entire number in each State and will give it.

“I believe the Senator from Delaware is alarmed, greatly alarmed about the over-riding of the popular ballot by the troops of the United States! In Delaware there is not a single armed man, not one. The United States has not even one soldier in the State.

“The honorable Senator from West Virginia [Mr. Hereford], on Friday last, lashed himself into a passion, or at least into a perspiration, over the wrongs of his State, trodden down by the iron heel of military despotism. There is not a solitary man of the United States, uniformed, on the soil of West Virginia, and there has not been for years.

“In Maryland? I do not know whether my esteemed friend from Maryland [Mr. Whyte] has been greatly alarmed or not; but at Fort McHenry, guarding the entrance to the beautiful harbor of his beautiful city, there are one hundred and ninety-two artillerymen located.

“In Virginia, there is a school of practice at Fortress Monroe. My honorable friend [Mr. Withers], who has charge of this bill, knows very well, and if he does not I will tell him, that outside of that school of practice at Fortress Monroe, which has two hundred and eighty-two men in it, there is not a federal soldier on the soil of Virginia—not one.

“North Carolina. Are the Senators from that State

alarmed at the immediate and terrible prospect of being over-run by the army of the United States? On the whole soil of North Carolina there are but thirty soldiers guarding a fort at the mouth of Cape Fear River—just thirty.

“South Carolina. I do not see a Senator on the floor from that State. There are one hundred and twenty artillerymen guarding the approaches to Charleston Harbor, and not another soldier on her soil.

“Georgia. Does my gallant friend from Georgia [Mr. Gordon], who knows better than I the force and strength of military organization—the senior Senator, and the junior also—are both or either of those Senators alarmed at the presence of twenty-nine soldiers in Georgia? [Laughter.] There are just twenty-nine there.

“Florida has one hundred and eighty-two at three separate posts, principally guarding the navy yard, near which my friend on the opposite side [Mr. Jones] lives.

“Tennessee. Is the honorable Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Bailey] alarmed at the progress of military despotism in his State? There is not a single federal soldier on the soil of Tennessee—not one.

“Kentucky. I see both the honorable Senators from Kentucky here. They have equal cause with Tennessee to be alarmed, for there is not a federal soldier in Kentucky—not one!

“Missouri. Not one.

“Arkansas. Fifty-seven in Arkansas.

“Alabama. I think my friend from Alabama [Mr. Morgan] is greatly excited over this question, and in his

State there are thirty-two federal soldiers located at an arsenal of the United States.

“Mississippi. The great State of Mississippi, that is in danger of being trodden under the iron hoof of military power, has not a federal soldier on its soil.

“Louisiana has two hundred and thirty-nine.

“Texas, apart from the regiments that guard the frontier on the Rio Grande and the Indian frontier, has not one.

“And the entire South has eleven hundred and fifty-five soldiers to intimidate, over-run, oppress, and destroy the liberties of fifteen million people! In the Southern States there are twelve hundred and three counties. If you distribute the soldiers there is not quite one for each county; and when I give the counties I give them from the census of 1870. If you distribute them territorially there is one for every seven hundred square miles of territory, so that if you make a territorial distribution, I would remind the honorable Senator from Delaware, if I saw him in his seat, that the quota for his State would be three—“one ragged sergeant and two abreast,” as the old song has it. [Laughter.] That is the force ready to destroy the liberties of Delaware!

“There are thirteen thousand polling places in the South, and there are eleven hundred and fifty-five soldiers down there, and this great intimidation is to be carried on by one soldier distributing himself around to twelve polling places. That is the intimidation that threatens the South just now; and I am just reminded by the honorable Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. Carpenter] that the Supreme Court decided—

a fact I did not recall at the moment—that the war did not close till April, 1866; a state of peace had not come, and therefore the honorable Senator from Kentucky does not bring himself within the line of evidence. He only saw troops there in 1865, during the war. Has he seen them since April, 1866, in time of peace?”

MR. WILLIAMS—“No.”

MR. BLAINE—“He has not. [Laughter.] Then I should like some other Senator, if there is any one who has testimony to give; I should like to see some other Senator that has seen troops around the polls, bulldozing, and brow-beating, and intimidating, and controlling the popular wish, to rise, if he has any testimony to give on the subject.”

MR. LOGAN—“If the Senator will allow me, perhaps I can make a statement about soldiers in Kentucky in 1865 myself. I happened to be in Louisville in 1865, at the time of an election for Congress, when General Rosseau was a candidate for Representative in Congress. I was stationed at Louisville and had sixty-five thousand soldiers under my command. I was there on the day of election, and I made a speech there the night before the election. Those sixty-five thousand soldiers were stationed all around Louisville, and I never saw a more quiet, peaceable election in my life, and under orders, the soldiers were kept from the polls and out of the city during the day of the election, under my own orders.”

MR. BLAINE—“All we get, then, in the testimony is, that the Senator from Kentucky says he saw troops in his State during the war, and the Senator from West Virginia says he saw them in his State once since the war—ten

years ago. That is the amount of actual testimony we get on the subject. Now, Mr. President, I say this bill connects itself directly with the provisions which are inserted by the Democratic caucus in the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial bill. The two stand together; they cannot be separated; because if to-day we enact that no civil officer whatever shall appear under any circumstances with armed men at the polls—I am not speaking of federal troops, or military, or naval officers—I should like to know how, if you strike that out to-day in the military bill that is pending, you are going to enforce any provisions of the election laws, even if we leave them standing. . . .

“There, too, is the Congressional library that has become the pride of the whole American people for its magnificent growth and extent. You say it shall not have one dollar to take care of it, much less add a new book, unless the President signs these bills. There is the Department of State that we think throughout the history of the government has been a great pride to this country for the ability with which it has conducted our foreign affairs; it is also to be starved. You say we shall not have any intercourse with foreign nations, not a dollar shall be appropriated therefor, unless the President signs these bills. There is the light-house board, that provides for the beacons and the warnings on seventeen thousand miles of sea and gulf and lake coast. You say those lights shall all go out, and not a dollar shall be appropriated for the board, if the President does not sign these bills. There are the mints of the United States at Philadelphia, New Orleans, Denver, San Francisco, coining silver and coining gold—not a dollar

shall be appropriated for them if the President does not sign these bills. There is the Patent Office, the patents issued which embody the inventions of the country—not a dollar for them. The Pension Bureau shall cease its operations unless these bills are signed, and patriotic soldiers may starve. The Agricultural Bureau, the Post-office Department, every one of the great executive functions of the government, is threatened, taken by the throat, highway-man-style, collared on the highway, commanded to stand and deliver in the name of the Democratic Congressional caucus. That is what it is; simply that. No committee of this Congress, in either branch, has ever recommended that legislation—not one. Simply a Democratic caucus has done it.

“Of course this is new. We are learning something every day. I think you may search the records of the Federal Government in vain; it will take some one much more industrious in that search than I have ever been, and much more observing than I have ever been, to find any possible parallel or any sensible suggestion in our past history of any such thing. Most of the Senators who sit in this chamber can remember some vetoes by Presidents that shook this country to its center with excitement. The veto of the National-Bank bill by Jackson in 1832, remembered by the oldest in this chamber; the veto of the National-Bank bill in 1841 by Tyler, remembered by those not the oldest, shook this country with a political excitement which up to that time had scarcely a parallel; and it was believed—whether rightfully or wrongfully is no matter—it was believed by those who advocated those financial measures at the time, that they were of the very last importance to the

well-being and prosperity of the people of the Union. That was believed by the great and shining lights of that day. It was believed by that man of imperial character and imperious will, the great Senator from Kentucky. It was believed by Mr. Webster, the greatest of New England Senators. When Jackson vetoed the one or Tyler vetoed the other, did you ever hear a suggestion that those bank charters should be put on appropriation bills, or that there should not be a dollar to run the government until they were signed? So far from it that, in 1841, when temper was at its height; when the Whig party, in addition to losing their great measure, lost it under the sting and the irritation of what they believed was a desertion by the President whom they had chosen; and when Mr. Clay, goaded by all these considerations, rose to debate the question in the Senate, he repelled the suggestion of William C. Rives, of Virginia, who attempted to make upon him the point that he had indulged in some threat involving the independence of the Executive. Mr. Clay rose to his full height, and thus responded :

“I said nothing whatever of any obligation on the part of the President to conform his judgment to the opinions of the Senate and House of Representatives, although the Senator argued as if I had, and persevered in so arguing after repeated correction. I said no such thing. I know and I respect the perfect independence of each department, acting within its proper sphere, of the other departments.”

“A leading Democrat, an eloquent man, a man who has courage and frankness and many good qualities, has boasted publicly that the Democracy are in power for the first time

in eighteen years, and they do not intend to stop until they have wiped out every vestige of every war measure. Well, 'forewarned is forearmed,' and you begin appropriately on a measure that has the signature of Abraham Lincoln. I think the picture is a striking one, when you hear these words from a man who was then in arms against the government of the United States, doing his best to destroy it, exerting every power given him in a bloody and terrible rebellion against the authority of the United States, and when Abraham Lincoln was marching at the same time to his martyrdom in its defense! Strange times have fallen upon us, that those of us who had the great honor to be associated in higher or lower degree with Mr. Lincoln, in the administration of the government, should live to hear men in public life, and on the floors of Congress, fresh from the battle-fields of the rebellion, threatening the people of the United States that the Democratic party, in power for the first time in eighteen years, proposes not to stay its hand until every vestige of the war measures has been wiped out!

"The late Vice-president of the Confederacy boasted—perhaps I had better say stated—that for sixty out of the seventy-two years preceding the outbreak of the rebellion, from the foundation of the government, the South, though in a minority, had, by combining with what he termed the anti-centralists in the North, ruled the country; and in 1866 the same gentleman indicated in a speech, I think before the Legislature of Georgia, that by a return to Congress the South might repeat the experiment with the same successful result. I read that speech at the time; but I little thought I should live to see so near a fulfillment of its prediction. I

see here to-day two great measures emanating, as I have said, not from a committee of either House, but from a Democratic caucus in which the South has an overwhelming majority, two-thirds in the House, and out of the forty-two Senators on the other side of this chamber professing the Democratic faith, thirty are from the South—twenty-three, a positive and pronounced majority, having themselves been participants in the war against the Union, either in military or civil station. So that it is a matter of fact, plainly deducible from counting your fingers, that the legislation of this country to-day, shaped and fashioned in a Democratic caucus where the Confederates of the South hold the majority, is the realization of Mr. Stephens's prophecy. And, very appropriately, the House under that control and the Senate under that control, embodying thus the entire legislative powers of the government, deriving its political strength from the South, elected from the South, say to the President of the United States, at the head of the executive department of the government, elected as he was from the North—elected by the whole people, but elected as a Northern man; elected on Republican principles, elected in opposition to the party that controls both branches of Congress to-day—they naturally say, 'You shall not exercise your constitutional power to veto a bill.' . . .

"All the war measures of Abraham Lincoln are to be wiped out, say leading Democrats! The Bourbons, of France, busied themselves, I believe, after the Restoration, in removing every trace of Napoleon's power and grandeur, even chiseling the 'N' from public monuments raised to perpetuate his glory; but the dead man's hand from Saint.

Helena, reached out and destroyed them in their pride and in their folly. And I tell the Senators on the other side of this chamber—I tell the Democratic party North and South—South in the lead and North following—that the slow, unmoving finger of scorn, from the tomb of the martyred President on the prairies of Illinois, will wither and destroy them. ‘Though dead he speaketh.’ [Great applause in the galleries.]

The PRESIDING OFFICER (MR. ANTHONY, in the chair)—“The sergeant-at-arms will preserve order in the galleries, and arrest persons manifesting approbation or disapprobation.”

MR. BLAINE—“When you present these bills with these threats to the living President, who bore the commission of Abraham Lincoln, and served with honor in the army of the Union, which Lincoln restored and preserved, I can think of only one appropriate response from his lips or pen. He should say to you, with all the scorn befitting his station: ‘Is thy servant a dog that he should do this thing?’”

Mr. Blaine’s services in the Senate proved conclusively that “the chiefest action for a man of spirit is, never to be out of action.” His industry was great, his performance prodigious. His speeches and a fair history of his public acts would fill several volumes. The speeches already presented, in whole or in part, sufficiently indicate his position upon the leading questions of the day. On the death of Senator Chandler he delivered a memorial address which was the fitting forerunner of his eulogy on the martyred Garfield.

In the Republican Convention of 1880, Mr. Blaine was

one of the most prominent candidates for the presidential nomination, and was supported through thirty-five ballots with all that enthusiasm and energy for which his friends have been pre-eminent in three successive conventions of the party. On the thirty-sixth ballot his principal strength, together with that of Messrs Sherman and Washburne, went over to General Garfield, securing his nomination.

March 4, 1881, Mr. Blaine entered President Garfield's Cabinet as Secretary of State. No happier selection could have been made. These two leading minds were in full sympathy upon the questions of policy then before the country, and in perfect accord as to what constitutes a State and what a Nation. They had learned to distinguish between nationality and confederacy in an expensive school, and were not likely to disregard the moral force of the lesson. There was a measure of agreeableness between them which seemed to promptly assure the country that good work would be done, and unquestionably this assurance would have been justified had President Garfield lived. After the cruel assassination of our last hero-statesman who occupied the chair of the Nation, Mr. Blaine was virtually President for eighty days—till death came and relieved the real Executive. The country understood this fact and rested easily upon it, for the people had confidence in the man who was recognized as the President's confidential adviser and faithful friend. And they had confidence in him for his own great qualities.

All the world remembers and will not soon forget the place which Mr. Blaine held in public sympathy, on account of his manly and noble bearing toward the family of the

dying President. Every day, during the time when the wounded Garfield lay waiting the final summons, the newspapers bore to the American public the continued story of



BLAINE READING MESSAGES OF SYMPATHY TO MRS. GARFIELD.

the attentions and considerate conduct of the Secretary of State towards the wife and children of his chief. It thus happened that from one end of the land to the other, wherever the news was read, the praise of Blaine was mingled

with the sorrow of the people for the fallen President and his household. Each day the Secretary was wont to visit Mrs. Garfield in person, and to read to her, as a brother to his sister in sorrow, the words of condolence and sympathy which came to her from every quarter of the civilized world.

Mr. Blaine remained in the Cabinet several months after President Arthur's inauguration. Some disagreement upon details of state-craft was reported; some want of accord upon the foreign relations of the government; some anticipated demand in the contemplation of Mr. Blaine, it was said, upon Great Britain, for a modification of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty; his opposition to the course of Chili in her victorious struggle with Peru; his project of a Congress of all the American republics to settle international disputes—these, in part or in whole, we were told, were at the bottom of Mr. Blaine's retirement from the Cabinet, because his views and those of the President were irreconcilable. Perhaps the reasons were wholly different from any thing that has yet reached the public ear, but that whatever they were, they were thought sufficient by the parties concerned, is undoubted.

CHAPTER XI.

BLAINE IN PUBLIC LIFE—Continued.

“ With grave
Aspect he rose, and in his rising seemed
A pillar of state ; deep on his front engraven,
Deliberation sat, and public care ;
And princely counsel in his face yet shone
Majestic.” MILTON.

IN THE GREAT WORLD.

AT Brownsville, Pennsylvania, on the Monongahela River, a good many reminiscences of Blaine's boyhood and early youth are now revived, and they go pretty well to prove, if such proof were needed, that the child is indeed father to the man. Instances of his industry, honesty, versatility, and activity of both body and mind are recalled and related, with many shrewd comments and cheerful predictions of great renown.

“ He was a master boy,” says one old lady of Brownsville, “ to lead off. He would get together a lot of youngsters and propose a frolic in the hills, a game of ball, or a fishing jaunt, and all agreed to his suggestion and joined in whatever he proposed. It was enough to insure the sport of the boys that Jimmy Blaine had charge of the game or the frolic, for it was understood he would not fail to do his part for the general entertainment. He protected the younger

boys against the older, but taught them all to rely upon themselves as much as possible. He was cheerful, generous, and truthful, and always ready to do a good turn for friend or neighbor. He came to our house to borrow a net one morning, and father—that's what I called my husband—didn't want to let it go. 'I'll bring it back to-morrow,' said Jimmy. 'It isn't bringing it back that I'm talking about, but letting it go,' said father. Jimmy thought a minute; then he replied, 'You'd better lend it to me than to somebody that'll *never* bring it back.' Father laughed, and then I knew he would give in. Jimmy got the net, and, of course, returned it according to agreement.

"Once I got him to stand still long enough to answer a few questions. He was so full of life and fun that it was hard work to keep him quiet for any length of time. I asked him some questions in history, geography, and the catechism, and he answered all correctly—that is, if I knew the correct answers—and then I asked him what he expected to follow when he grew up. 'Maybe I'll be a preacher or a steamboat captain,' he replied, 'but I'd rather be a member of Congress.' He hadn't forgotten this reply when he was here a few years ago, and acknowledged that he had had his preference."

Another aged dame remembered him as the most charitable boy she ever knew. "Why, he would give away his dinner rather than have any one else go hungry. He gave his pennies and his fruit and his candy to the children of poor parents, and did this so often that it was talked about in the town. He played jokes upon some of his mates, but only upon his equals in strength and opportunity. He

seemed to despise every thing in the way of a mean advantage. I can't remember the particulars of any of these jokes, but some of them were very cute."

We had better luck with a bright-eyed old gentleman of clear memory. "When we were boys," said he, "down on Indian Hill farm, Jim Blaine was a lively chap. He kept the whole township in arms. Once I got even with him. I was down in the meadow pitching hay. He knew that I was going to do that job, and he went down there a day or two before and fixed one of the haycocks so it could not be lifted. He ran a long wire through it in such a way as to hold it together, and then fastened it under the middle of the stack to a post which he had driven in the ground. Some of the other boys knew about the game, and they stood around looking kind of sneaking and smiling a little. I tackled the doctored stack early in the day. I drove my fork into the top, and, spitting on my hands, bore down upon it. It didn't budge. I tried it once more, with a little extra strength, and broke the fork clean off at the handle. A boy sitting on a rail fence snickered, and I knew something was up. A moment's examination convinced me that the stack was tied down, and just then the boy who had laughed pointed in the direction of another stack not far away. I felt in my bones that Jim Blaine was hiding there. So I crawled up kind of easy, and finding him watching the performance on his hands and knees, with some of the grass thrown over him, I got behind him and raised him one with my boot. I was mad, and I put a good deal of heft into that kick, for he shot out of the stack head first, as if he had been fired from a cannon. It humped him for a while, I

tell you, and there was a lively scattering among the rest of the boys.

"He was always great in learning some good piece for speaking in school. It was nothing for him to get it by heart, as the boys called it. He generally told the boys what he was going to speak, so that none of them would get the same; but once a fellow, whose name was Ames or Amos, pitched upon the same piece Jim had, just for a joke, and as his name was called first, he took all the wind out of Jim's sails by pretty good speaking. Jim did n't appear to mind it much, but the teacher remarked that they had better have an understanding in future, and avoid repetition. The time came pretty soon when they had a school exhibition, and each one who took part had to write his own piece. Blaine was given his choice between the first and last speeches, and he chose the first. It was grand. I do n't think he has made a better one since. When Ames's name was called he was n't there, although a few minutes before he was seen in his seat. 'Gone home, sick,' said one of the boys. It finally leaked out that Ames lacked either the ability or the disposition to write a piece for himself and had gone to Blaine for help, and that Jim, not caring to keep all the good things, and remembering Ames's favor on a former occasion, had copied and given him most of his own speech, and had only followed Ames's example in using it first. Ames left the school and this part of the country shortly afterward."

Men who have been in Congress for a long series of years are disposed to look upon new members in about the same light as that through which senior collegians view

freshmen. It is not favorable to the new members. Said one of the old stagers to Blaine, upon his first appearance as a member of the House: "Well, you are here fresh from the people, and probably with their instructions in your pocket; now what do you propose to do?" "*Nothing that my constituents will be ashamed of, or ever have reason to regret,*" was the reply. That old member is still in Congress, and he feels that he was not only properly answered, but that the purpose expressed in the answer has been grandly realized.

These incidents are brought forward now to illustrate the foundation of Mr. Blaine's character and greatness. Nobody in childhood and youth poses before the community for mere effect. Whatever acts are performed in tender years must be regarded as the spontaneous outpouring of nature, prompted by the untaught and unsophisticated heart and brain. No parent expects his ten, or twelve, or fifteen-year-old boy to do any thing for mere effect, and most certainly not in a country town where all affectation is absurd, where every body knows every body, and where the least pretense of moral or mental superiority would be very jealously scanned. The boy's life supplied the true horoscope of the future legislator and statesman, and the American people are disposed to put the predictions of that young life strongly to the proof in a further trial.

From a distinguished correspondent who has known Mr. Blaine intimately for many years, we gather the following interesting details of his daily life and habits:

"At first he lived in Washington in a nomadic way—in hotels or boarding-houses, as do most Congressman—but

when he was elected Speaker he bought a house on Fifteenth Street, in the best quarter of the town. Opposite lived Hamilton Fish, then Secretary of State; next door lived Fernando Wood; General Sherman's house was only a few doors distant, and General Butler could be found just around the corner. Blaine's house was thought a handsome one at that time, but it was only a plain brick structure in a row, and it cuts no sort of a figure in these days when big mansions in the Queen Anne, Elizabethan, Norman, and I know not how many other styles abound at the capital. There were two big parlors on the first floor, and back of them a sitting-room and dining-room, and all four rooms connected by folding doors, so that the crowds that used to surge in at the Speaker's official receptions were measurably well accommodated. In the belongings of this, his first Washington home, Blaine showed a fondness for engravings, for substantial furniture, and for books. He was much given to hospitality, and never appeared so happy as when entertaining a congenial dinner party at his big round table. For his dinner-table talks he had an inexhaustible fund of anecdotes and witticisms. I never heard him tell the same story twice. He did not resemble in the least the hand-organ type of man who has only one little set of tunes. Indeed, I think he might dispute with Henry Ward Beecher for the honor of being the most original man in America. No matter what the topic may be, he is sure to contribute to the conversation something particularly bright and entertaining.

"When not entertaining friends at his own house he usually dined out. I remember to have warned him once of the perils of the diner-out—how an eminent man had come

to an untimely end by eating big dinners. He said he observed a strict rule at dinner parties—he took soup and roast beef, but no prepared dishes. No dessert, except a little ice-cream, and no wine save dry champagne. By sticking closely to this dietary programme, he could dine out every day in the week without injuring his digestion. In those days Blaine was not a great letter-writer, either with his own hand or vicariously through that of his secretary. He did not, like Garfield, reply to all the letters he received. He was a great newspaper-reader, and always knew the attitude of every really important journal in the country on the dominant issues of the day. He knew the history of these journals, too, and something of the men who made them, and if there was any power behind the chairs of their editors he was pretty sure to be informed about it. He was not accessible at all times and to all the world, as many men who cherish great political ambition think it necessary to be. The impassable black guardian of the hall door was never quite sure that Mr. Blaine was in, but he would see. If the visitor was not welcome he would manage to make him believe that the Speaker had just gone out a few minutes before. This colored person had a fine instinct for discerning the men whom his master would probably wish to receive. They were shown into the front parlor; others waited in the hall.

“In the Fifteenth Street house Blaine lived while in Washington until after the death of Garfield. He had previously begun to build a huge, expensive red-brick pile out on the P Street Circle, deeming himself comfortably rich at the time, and thinking the position of Secretary of State carried with it duties of enlarged hospitality. The house

was a mistake, as he soon found. He lived in it only about a year. As a private citizen it was much too large for his needs; besides, a considerable share of his fortune melted away in the great shrinkage in stocks, and he did not feel able to support the expensive establishment which the house demanded. He considered himself very fortunate to be able to lease it for a sum which amounted to 6 per cent. on its cost. Then he condensed his household into a dwelling of moderate capacity, facing on Lafayette Square. From his front window he could see the White House through the trees in the pretty park. Not many of his own belongings came with this house save his books and a few pictures. In it he did most of the work on his 'Twenty Years of Congress,' living as retired as his friends would let him, and getting his exercise mainly from a daily morning walk to the Capitol, whither he went to consult the books in the Congressional Library.

"All this time his real home, if the attachments of himself and the members of his family were considered, was the large, old-fashioned, broad-fronted white house, with its green blinds, its maples, and its grassy yard, which stands on a quiet, shady street near the State Capitol, in Augusta, Me. This house typifies the well-to-do phase of village life in New England, as it expressed itself in architecture before the recent mania for colors, angles, balconies, and fanciful forms came in. It represents the plainness, solidity, and conservatism of the last generation. Mr. Blaine has modified it very little, and not at all at the expense of its sober, old-time appearance. He has added two or three rooms in the rear—one large library, which is his work-room, and

which during the many hard fights he waged with the Democrats when he was chairman of the State Republican Committee used to be a rendezvous for his lieutenants from all parts of the State. In the course of two Maine campaigns I saw a good deal of Mr. Blaine. He was the busiest man in the State, hurrying from county to county to address mass-meetings, writing telegrams on the trains, getting a pocketful of dispatches at every town, dictating letters at night to his secretary, yet always cheerful and companionable, and with a good joke or anecdote ready to enliven every occasion. He knew the whole State as well as his own dooryard, and was acquainted with the leading men in every town. He brought the canvass down to the school districts. The hurrah work of processions, banners, and big meetings he estimated at its proper value, but he never depended on it to produce results. The real business of a campaign was to perfect local organization, ascertain who were the doubtful voters, and bring argument and personal influence to bear upon them through the efforts of their Republican neighbors.

“Saturdays we special correspondents used to manage to get back to Augusta if we could, to spend a quiet Sunday afternoon with Blaine at his house. In the evening some musical friends of the family would usually come in, and we had a good time singing old-fashioned Church tunes, for which Blaine had a fondness, and in which he would join with his children and with all the members of the company who could make any show of a voice.”

As it respects political scandals, it is well known that, in 1870, a story was started that Mr. Blaine had done some-

thing wrong while Speaker of the House in assisting to renew the land grant of the Little Rock & Fort Smith Railroad, of Arkansas. It was a false and malicious charge, instigated by those who were jealous of Mr. Blaine's success and rapid progress in the public regard. Nobody who knew him believed it for a moment, and those who took the trouble to investigate, found it to be utterly without foundation. In proof of this we append what *Harper's Weekly*, of May 13, 1876, had to say about it. For several reasons, it will be found quite interesting just at this juncture :

“In speaking of the railroad-bond scandal about Mr. Blaine we said that at least it would be admitted that he had always shown himself acute enough to escape the traps into which the honest but dull often fall. If high principle should be denied to him, and if, as is sometimes asserted, he is merely a politician, yet surely he is a politician of sagacity enough to know that, in public life, honesty, if nothing more, is certainly good policy. The substance of the charge against Mr. Blaine was that when he was the Speaker of the House, and when Mr. Thomas Scott was president of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, he caused the company to buy bonds to the amount of \$75,000, which were almost worthless, for \$64,000, and the insinuation was that this was a bribe to secure the favor of Mr. Blaine for Mr. Scott's railway projects before Congress. Plainly stated, this was the charge. Of course, if believed, it was fatal to Mr. Blaine ; and at this time, when the public mind is very suspicious, the mere accusation was not unlikely to be of great injury to him. The story had been privately whispered, and there had been a conference of Republican editors

at Cincinnati, which ended by acquainting him with the rumor. Suddenly it was made public in a Democratic paper at Indianapolis, and in other journals in other parts of the country. Then, of course, it was echoed and re-echoed through the whole press. Mr. Blaine instantly published an absolute and complete denial, and having collected evidence that is apparently conclusive, he made a brief, clear, simple statement in the House, which was *as thorough a refutation as was ever made, and in the absence of other evidence, leaves him unspotted.*"

The *Chicago Tribune*, date of June 14, 1884, under the head of "Mr. Blaine's Vindication," refers to the old falsehood, and thus disposes of it:

"The charge is:

"That in the spring of 1869—Mr. Blaine being at that time Speaker of the House of Representatives—a bill renewing the land grant of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad in the State of Arkansas was before the House, and that in his capacity of Speaker he promoted its passage because he had a pecuniary interest in the road.

"The truth is:

"1. That Mr. Blaine at the time of the passage of the bill had no pecuniary interest whatsoever in the railroad or its land grant, and expected to have none.

"2. That he had no acquaintance with any persons who did have any pecuniary interest in the railroad or its land grant.

"3. That he did not 'promote' the passage of the bill, and that it did not need his influence, inasmuch as it had already passed the Senate by a unanimous vote, and was

not objected to by any body in the House. In fact, it passed the House by a unanimous vote, as soon as it was before that body, on its merits.

"4. That Mr. Blaine's sole connection with the bill was to rule out an amendment tacking to it the very odious and objectionable land-grant of the Texas and Pacific Railroad, a measure which ought not to pass, and which, if it had been fastened on the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad measure, would probably have dragged it down to an unmerited defeat. When this highly offensive amendment was proposed, Mr. Root, one of the Arkansas members, called the Speaker's attention thereto, and at Mr. Blaine's suggestion Mr. John A. Logan, then a member of the House, raised the point of order that the amendment was not germane, and it was ruled out of order forthwith. The bill then passed by a unanimous vote.

"Nearly three months after these events Mr. Blaine for the first time obtained an interest in the railroad, purchasing the stock and bonds as any other buyer might do, and then for the first time formed the acquaintance of those who had been instrumental in pushing the enterprise in the State of Arkansas. He bought a block of securities belonging to the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad, including stock and first and second mortgage bonds, in June, 1869, after the adjournment of Congress, and placed the first mortgage bonds during the three months following with a number of his friends in Massachusetts and Maine. The entire series of bonds at his disposal was closed out during the months of July, August, and September of 1869, so the transaction was ended when, in his letter of October 4, 1869, Mr. Blaine

wrote to Fisher, and merely in the way of a curious reminiscence called attention to the fact of his unsolicited and accidental services to the road the April previous, when he was in no way interested in its affairs, and had no reason to suppose that he ever would be. The truth is, that his attention was first directed to the railroad by its application to Congress for a renewal of its land grant, and it first seemed to him a favorable investment after its land grant had been renewed by *a unanimous vote of both houses of Congress.*

“Mr. Blaine sold his securities of the road to his friends with a personal promise that if any loss should ensue he would take back the stock and bonds at the price for which he sold them. Shrinkage did ensue, and the stock and bonds were thrown back upon his hands, and, though he had given no written guarantee of redemption, he paid for them at a great personal sacrifice out of his own pocket. The New York *Evening Post* has since alleged that he unloaded his disastrous investment upon the Union Pacific Railroad, but it has produced no proof of any such transaction, whereas Mr. Blaine has exhibited the sworn statements of the officers of the railroad that no such transfer was ever made; and his statement has been accepted as conclusive by those who are familiar with the circumstances of the case. Indeed, it was this part of the controversy that George William Curtis considered in *Harper's Weekly* when he wrote in May, 1876, that Mr. Blaine's statement was ‘as thorough a refutation as was ever made.’”

It would seem strange indeed to find it necessary to defend Mr. Blaine, were we not able to remember that the

purest and best men the country ever possessed were to some extent the victims of vile calumnation. It was true of Washington, of Clay, of Lincoln, of Grant, of Garfield. In the case of each, the scandals were promptly disproved, but they were repeated again and again, to the utmost limit of "damnable iteration," even after disproval. There are very good people who yet believe that Garfield wrote the Morey letter, although it was proved a black forgery. None who were acquainted with the man, whether they were his political friends or not, believed it for a moment after his disclaimer. "I wonder if Garfield thinks denying that letter will do him any good?" queried a gentleman of Hon. John G. Carlisle, now Speaker of the House. "If he denies it, you may rely that he did not write it," responded Carlisle. "I have known Garfield intimately for many years, and I know he would lose every thing he has in the world, and the prospect of ever having any thing again, before he would be guilty of untruthfulness." This was the manly expression of a great mind, who, although a political opponent, is above the ordinary prejudice of party. It was said during the presidential campaign of 1880.

Mr. Blaine's reputation is of the same order, with those who know him. His integrity is above suspicion among his associates, no matter what their politics may be. Therefore he thought it necessary to disprove some of the lies that have been uttered to smirch his fair name. But they are reiterated by unscrupulous foes, who are well aware that, although "a lie has no legs, and can not stand, it has wings, and can fly far and wide." Nobody pretends that he is perfect, for that is not in humanity; but that he is a great,

generous, whole-souled, honest man, full of vim and intelligence, is enough for a personal platform; and the man is lucky who can stand upon such a platform deservedly. Jealousy will attack him, as it has the great hearts who have lived before and worn themselves out in the service of the people. But truth crushed to earth rises very rapidly upon our free soil. Mr. Blaine has shown too much independence to suit the truckling politicians of the day, and for this they seek to wound him. He spoke and voted against the Electoral Commission bill, as did Morton, and there are some mousing partisans who seek to knife him, politically, for this alone. Some wonderful statesmen have conceived the idea that nothing should be done but at the behest of the party, and every thing else is treason. Mr. Blaine has never hesitated to declare his independence of party whenever it claimed his allegiance in a course he could not approve; and this should certainly testify to his political honesty, if nothing further. In all this he is a thorough Republican, however, for if Republicanism is not political freedom, what in the world is it? We have read of his Republican views in Congress and perused his speeches there; now, let us see how the views he expressed outside, in the great world, agree with his Congressional platform. For this purpose we make an extract from his speech on the currency, at Biddeford, Maine, August 21, 1878:

“By common consent, the currency question is the great question before the people. This I regret; because, if there is one thing people can not afford, it is a political currency question. Let us settle it, and settle it right. Let us review the circumstances that brought us where we are now.

In 1861 an extra session of Congress was called, and it authorized the treasurer to borrow \$400,000,000, as there was no money in the treasury. Fifty millions of demand notes were also authorized, and when Congress assembled after the Christmas holidays they assembled with an empty treasury. In this particular strait, the government provided for an issuance of \$150,000,000 of legal-tender notes. That was a measure of absolute necessity. It was useless to stand upon a very fine-drawn point at such a time. It was a question of life. We declared the notes legal tender. Before another year had expired we were called upon to issue another \$150,000,000, and when Congress assembled in December, 1863, the report of the Secretary of the Treasury brought before us a very embarrassing condition. The government was without currency again. We were at that time appealing to every civilized nation of the world for money. Forty or fifty million dollars were due the army, and ready cash was demanded. Out of this state of affairs came the Loan Act, which really supplied funds which were necessary for the salvation of the Nation. The Loan Act had not only authority of law, but in a peculiar and strong sense it is binding upon us. In this act was a proviso as follows: 'That the total amount of those notes issued, and to be issued, shall never exceed \$400,000,000.' It was the limit which, in extreme urgency, we pledged ourselves to, and if there is any honor in the American people they would as soon sign away their birthright as violate this pledge. The most fearful thing that could happen to this country would be the issuance of an unlimited amount of currency. How are you going to contract the currency?

“Whatever else the American people do with currency, let me say to you that there is no body of men so little competent to determine the question of money as Congressmen. I voted in Congress for the Greenback bill. I voted that greenbacks should not be contracted.

“Greenback people say that we should not have any banks. For seven hundred years we have had banks, and we could not conduct the business of the country for a minute without banks. Why are banks a necessity? A bank is a place where the borrower of money meets the lender; where surplus money is deposited. Suppose a man wants to borrow \$10,000 to go into business. Greenbackers would send him all over the country, borrowing \$50 here and \$50 there. There are at the present time three bills in Congress for ‘resurrecting’ the State banks. New England enjoyed, under the old system, the best banks in the country; but they owed their reputation to the personal integrity of the men who stood behind the counter.” The speaker aptly illustrated the weakness of the system by referring to the Lumberman’s Bank, which might be said to have been owned by the present Greenback candidate for governor. This bank had a capital of \$50,000, but at one time had on hand unsigned bills to the amount of \$165,000, which would be signed as fast as any body wanted them. “In fact, the old system of banking was based upon the personal notes of the stockholders. If you will have banks, then what kind will you have: responsible or irresponsible? National banks are perfectly free for every man to engage in, with just one little condition that the government insists upon—that you shall not issue any bills until you have put into the United States

treasury an amount equal to ten per cent additional to protect the bill-holders.

“If you hold a national bank bill, you do n’t care whether the bank is burst or not. In regard to taxing bonds, Greenbackers say ‘here is an exempted class.’ The only man in the United States who pays absolutely full tax on his property is the holder of government bonds; for instance: A invests \$10,000 in government 4 per cents.; B invests an equal amount in Maine State 6s; and C invests a like amount in Maine Central 7 per cents. In the first case the investor in government bonds pays his taxes in advance, but in the case of the other bonds, is it within your experience that holders thereof flock to the assessor’s office asking to be taxed? Facts show that but a very small portion of the bonds are taxed. It is the easiest thing in the world for your brother in California to own them, or your uncle in some other part of the country. Then why delude yourselves with the idea that if you tax government bonds they would be any more likely to turn up for taxation than these State or railroad bonds. If you succeed in taxing bonds you merely place upon your shoulders an additional burden of \$40,000,000. Government bonds never could nor never should be taxed. There are five kinds of money that the United States stands sponsor for: gold and silver—and gold is better than silver: Moses, in the second chapter of Genesis, tells us ‘that gold is good;’ and it makes no difference whether it is stamped by the United States or Venezuela. Then there is the old-fashioned, war-honored, patriotic greenback, that did such great work, that says the United States will pay \$10, or as it may be, reserving to the United States when

they would pay. In 1875 it did say when they would pay, viz: January 1, 1879. The advance school of Greenbackers, represented by General Butler, don't want this kind of greenback at all. They want another kind. They don't want anything stamped with 'promise to pay.' They want this greenback to say, 'this is \$10,' or any sum. Such talk is merely nonsense. Why not say, 'this is a horse?' Why not make it \$1,000? It takes no more paper or time to print it, but it is not so with gold. The next government money is National bank bills, and lastly the silver certificates.

"We fancied during the greenback craze that we were all getting rich. In 1873 we found out we had been buying \$800,000,000 more than we were selling. There is nothing so mysterious about national finances. The same principles are involved in private finances. If a farmer is buying more than he is selling from his farm, he is growing poorer, but if he is selling more than he is buying, he is getting richer. This idea holds good with the trade of the country. Now things are changed. We are buying less abroad and have a balance in our favor of \$630,000,000. No people in the world are so able to maintain a specie basis as the United States, if they say they will. We are just in the sight of the day of redemption. We can look right into the promised land; but Greenbackers say, 'Don't go in. Come, now, and wander with us for years more.' You depreciate your currency, and you might as well by one shock of mighty power paralyze capital from one end of the country to the other. You reduce the country from that of a great commercial people to a beggarly small retail affair. The things which this day frighten men are wild schemes of finance. What the United States

needs in this matter is a large amount of 'let-alone-ative-ness.' You can not keep this currency as a political foot-ball. You can not settle this question until you settle it right."

Some time in the fall of 1879 he delivered a speech at Cooper Institute, New York City, which has been more widely discussed, probably, than any other of his public efforts. We can not give the address, but the country was thrilled with the echo.

The official notification to Mr. Blaine of the action of the Chicago Convention was quietly performed at his home in Augusta, Maine, on Saturday, June 21, 1884. The committee was one of the largest that ever waited upon the nominee of a National Convention, and considering the distance some of the members had come, was quite a remarkable gathering.

The reading of the letter of notification took place on the lawn in the front of Mr. Blaine's residence, and was a scene long to be remembered by those in attendance. Beneath a stately butternut-tree, and in front of some low clumps of cedars and hemlocks, at the east of the house, and near Capitol Street, the committee took a position in the form of a semi-circle. In front was Mr. Blaine with folded arms. Just to the rear were stationed Mr. Walker Blaine, and J. G. Blaine, Jr. On the right of Mr. Blaine and a few feet distant was Chairman Henderson. Standing by the fence which separates the lawn and Capitol Street was a bevy of ladies, among whom were Mrs. Blaine and Mrs. Elkins. Mr. Elkins and several Augusta gentlemen were near at hand.

Chairman Henderson read the letter in a clear, powerful

tone of voice which was distinctly audible to all. After Mr. Blaine had finished reading his response, Chairman Henderson took a step forward and said: "To one and all of you I introduce the next President of the United States." This was greeted with cheers, Mr. Blaine responding with a bow. Hardly had the applause subsided when General Henderson moved to the side of Mrs. Blaine, who was standing near, exclaiming at the same time: "With equal pleasure I take the liberty to introduce the coming lady of the White House." Three cheers for Mrs. Blaine were given with much power.

Mr. Blaine listened to General Henderson's address with his arms folded on his chest, and his eyes usually cast down but at times wandering about and scanning the faces of the audience. When General Henderson had concluded speaking, Mr. Walker Blaine, the candidate's son, stepped forward and handed his father the manuscript of the address in reply to that of the committee. Mr. Blaine then read as follows:

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the National Committee: I receive, not without deep sensibility, your official notice of the action of the National Convention already brought to my knowledge through the public press. I appreciate, more profoundly than I can express, the honor which is implied in the nomination for the Presidency by the Republican party of the Nation, speaking through the authoritative voice of its duly accredited delegates. To be selected as a candidate by such an assemblage from the list of eminent statesmen whose names were presented, fills me with embarrassment. I can only express my gratitude for so signal an

honor and my desire to prove the worth of the great trust reposed in me.

“In accepting the nomination, as I now do, I am impressed and I am also oppressed with a sense of the labor and responsibility which attaches to my position. The burden is lightened, however, by the host of earnest men who support my candidacy, many of whom add, as does your honorable committee, the cheer of personal friendship to the pledge of political fealty. A more formal acceptance will naturally be expected, and will, in due season, be communicated. It may, however, not be inappropriate at this time to say that I have already made a careful study of the principles announced by the National Convention, and in whole and in detail they have my heartiest sympathy and meet my unqualified approval.

“Apart from your official errand, gentlemen, I am extremely happy to welcome you all to my house. With many of you I have already shared the duties of public service, and have enjoyed most cordial friendship. I trust your journey from all parts of the great Republic has been agreeable, and during your stay in Maine you will feel that you are not among strangers, but among friends. Invoking the blessing of God upon the great cause which we jointly represent, let us turn to the future without fear and with manly hearts.”

Mr. Blaine's reply is a model of dignity and manliness. It reflects throughout his appreciation of the importance of his position, the labors and responsibilities which attach to it, the burden of its duties, and the high honor of the prize for which he is contending.

Now let us turn for a moment to Washington City, the head-quarters for political information, and learn what the great party leaders, some of whom were candidates for the presidential nomination at Chicago, have to say of the Republican standard-bearer. On the evening of June 19th an immense Blaine and Logan ratification meeting was held in front of the City Hall, and during its continuance was addressed by a large number of prominent speakers, among whom were Senators John Sherman, Hawley, Harrison, and Mahone, and William Walter Phelps.

More than fifty thousand—perhaps more than one hundred thousand—Blaine speeches were made at ratification meetings within thirty days after his nomination. All breathe the same sentiment of unbounded confidence in the chosen standard-bearer of the Republican forces—the same high trust that four years ago was testified for him by the State of Maine, when Hon. William P. Frye made the following little speech in the National Republican Convention of 1880. It has lost none of its interest since the date of delivery :

“I saw once a storm at sea in the night-time, and our staunch old ship battling for its life with the fury of the tempest; darkness everywhere; the wind shrieking and howling through the rigging; the huge waves beating upon the sides of that ship, and making her shiver from stem to stern. The lightnings were flashing; the thunders were rolling. There was danger everywhere. I saw at the helm a calm, bold, courageous, immovable, commanding man. In the tempest, calm; in the commotion, quiet; in the dismay, hopeful. I saw him take that old ship and bring her

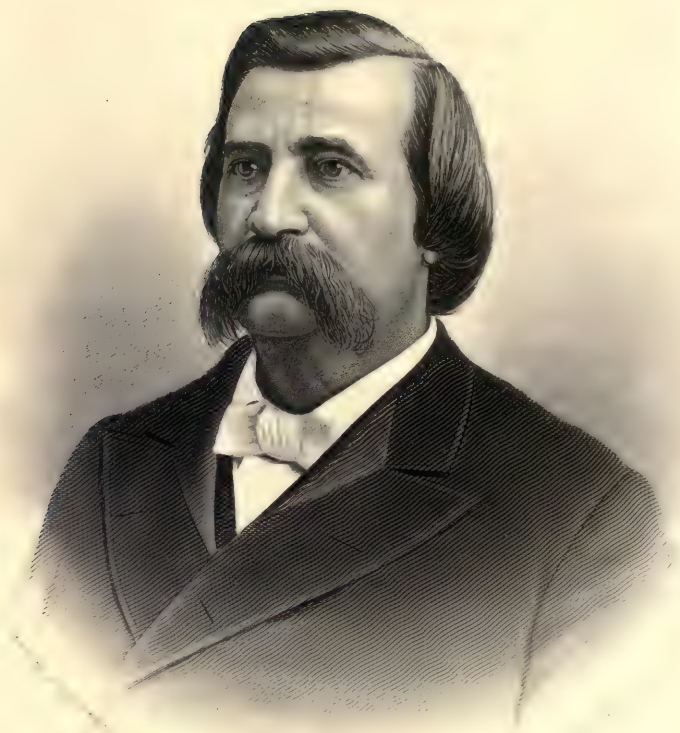
into the harbor; into still waters; into safety. That man was a hero.

"I saw the good old ship, the State of Maine, within the last year, fighting her way through the same darkness, through the same perils, against the same waves, against the same dangers. She was freighted with all that is precious to the principles of our Republic—with the rights of American citizenship; with all that is guaranteed to the American citizen by our Constitution. The eyes of the whole Nation were upon her; an intense anxiety filled every American heart, lest the grand old ship, the State of Maine, might go down beneath the waves forever, carrying her precious freight with her. But, sir, there was a man at the helm. Calm, deliberate, commanding, sagacious, he made even the foolish men wise. Courageous, he inspired the timid with courage; hopeful, he gave heart to the dismayed; and he brought that good old ship proudly into the harbor; into safety; and there she floats to-day, brighter, purer, stronger, from her baptism of danger. *That* man, too, was a hero, and his name was JAMES G. BLAINE. Maine sends greetings to this magnificent convention. With the memory of her own salvation from impending peril fresh upon her, she says to you, representatives of fifty millions of American people, who have met here to counsel how the Republic shall be saved, she says to you, representatives of the people, 'Take a man, a true man, a staunch man, for your leader, who has just saved her, and who will bear you to safety and certain victory.'"

How do the vilifiers of this great statesman like that testimony from the Pine Tree State? How did they enjoy

Mr. Blaine's election to the Senate by the Legislature of his State, immediately following the publication of their scandalous traducings? How can they tolerate a man who, relegated to private life through no fault of his own, but through the calamity of Garfield's death, has shown such fortitude, such determination, in subduing the hopelessness that would have overwhelmed an ordinary man, that he proves indeed,

“True courage is not the brutal force
Of vulgar heroes, but the firm resolve
Of virtue and of reason?”



John A. Logan

GENERAL JOHN A. LOGAN.

CHAPTER XII.

OUTLINE.

"A valiant and brave soldier seeks rather to preserve one citizen than to destroy a thousand enemies, as Scipio the Roman said; therefore, an upright soldier begins not a war lightly or without urgent cause. True soldiers and captains make not many words; but when they speak the deed is done."

LUTHER.

BIOGRAPHIES of great men are valuable mainly as the development of ideas which were the leading inspiration of their subjects. Whoever has transcended in thought, and then in action, the beaten path of ordinary opinion and endeavor, has become a legitimate object of general inquiry and interest. Whoever has not thus transcended has no claim upon our personal interest or study, though nations bow to his scepter, and monarchs tremble at his frown. "All the days of Methuselah were nine hundred sixty and nine years, and he died"—such are the comprehensive and significant terms in which the father of Sacred History wisely chronicles a life blameless indeed, but signalized by no extension of the boundaries of human thought, no decided contribution to the well-being of the race. Terence says, "My advice is to consult the lives of other men as you would a looking-glass, and from thence fetch examples for your own imitation."

The people of the United States know a good deal about General John A. Logan, but they regard him as a man about whom they can not know too much. Many of the best points in his life are known to only a few chosen friends, and as they concern his social and domestic relations alone, it is scarcely possible to obtain his consent to their publication. As a faithful and loving husband, a generous neighbor, and a true, self-sacrificing friend, General Logan's reputation is beyond encomium, and he enjoys, as he deserves, one of the happiest homes in all the broad expanse of this sunny Republic. This sketch is intended to furnish but the mere outline of his career, touching none but the prominent features of his life, to be followed in succeeding chapters with all details of interest in his public experience.

John A. Logan was born in Jackson County, Illinois, February 9, 1826. His father, Dr. John Logan, emigrated to this country from Ireland in 1823, and selected Illinois as his abiding-place. His mother, whose maiden name was Elizabeth Jenkins, was a native of Tennessee.

The early life of John A. Logan was spent in Jackson County, and the rudiments of his education were obtained from such schools as were then in existence there, supplemented by occasional instruction at home. At the outbreak of the Mexican War, young Logan volunteered, and was chosen a lieutenant in a company of the First Illinois Infantry. As a soldier he did good service, and was for some time adjutant of his regiment. In the fall of 1848, upon his return to his home, he commenced the study of law in the office of his uncle, Alexander M. Jenkins, formerly lieutenant-governor of Illinois.

In November, 1849, he was elected clerk of Jackson County. In 1850 he attended a course of law lectures at Louisville, Ky.; receiving his diploma in 1851, when he entered into practice with his uncle. The following year he was elected prosecuting attorney of the Third Judicial District, and in the fall of the same year he was chosen to the State Legislature, to which position he was three times re-elected. In 1856 he was a presidential elector on the Democratic ticket for the Ninth Congressional District, and voted for James Buchanan for President. Two years later he was elected a member of Congress from the same district, receiving a large Democratic majority, and at the expiration of his term he was re-elected. In the campaign of 1860 he gave his ardent support to Stephen A. Douglas.

He was among the first to enlist for the war of the Union. He attended the called session of Congress in July, 1861, and immediately joined the troops going to the front. He was in the first battle of Bull Run, and among the last to leave the field. Returning to his home September 1st, he assisted in raising troops, and September 13th the Thirty-first Regiment of Illinois Infantry was organized, with Logan commissioned as colonel.

The first engagement in which he and his command participated was the battle of Belmont, in November of the same year, when his ability as a commander, and his dash and intrepidity, foreshadowed the fact that he was to play a conspicuous part in the operations of the army. He participated in the movements at Fort Henry, and was present at the battle of Fort Donelson, where he received a severe wound, and did not rejoin his command until some weeks

afterward, on the evening of the last day of the battle of Shiloh. On March 3, 1862, he was made brigadier-general, and participated in the siege of Corinth, as commander of the First Brigade in General Judah's division of the right wing of the army, and for his valiant services was publicly thanked by General Sherman in his official report. When the attempt to take Vicksburg began in the fall of 1862, General Logan was in command of the First Division of the right wing of the Thirteenth Corps.

On the arrival of the command at Memphis, December 31, 1862, the Seventeenth Army Corps was organized, and on January 11, 1863, General Logan was assigned to the Third Division, in which position he remained until the fall of Vicksburg, when he was assigned to the command of the Fifteenth Army Corps. In the movements about Vicksburg from February, 1863, until July 4th, when General Pemberton surrendered, General Logan with his command was actively engaged, and it was through a number of brilliant movements by him that important advantages over the enemy were gained, and the final result hastened. He was selected by General Grant for consultation during the interviews with General Pemberton, looking to the terms of the surrender; and in consideration of his admirable services, General Logan's command was ordered to take the lead in the march into Vicksburg, July 4th, after which he was given the command of that post, which he retained until placed in command of the Fifteenth Corps, November 14, 1863.

During the latter part of December and January he organized an expedition into Northern Alabama, where he dispersed the rebel conscript officers, for which he was

officially complimented. In the Atlanta campaign General Logan's corps was a part of McPherson's command, which, as General Sherman said, was the snapper to the whip with which he proposed to punish the enemy. During the movement Logan was conspicuously at the front, and the forces under his immediate command bore an important part in all the actions and maneuvers that resulted finally in the taking possession of Atlanta and the surrounding strongholds of the Confederate forces. At Dallas, as at Resaca, General Logan's command was in the front, and the desperation with which the men under him fought showed their implicit confidence in their commander to lead them to victory even under the most perilous circumstances.

On July 22, 1864, Logan, as commander of the Fifteenth Army Corps, was ordered in pursuit of the enemy south of Atlanta. In the hard-fought battle that followed, General McPherson was killed, and General Logan succeeded him in command of the Army of the Tennessee. The success of the battle was accorded to Logan by General Sherman's official report. The battle of July 28th, which followed, was another hotly contested fight, in which Logan's command was equally as conspicuous and successful. At Jonesboro, August 29th, he was again in advance, and, seeing the necessity of prompt action, without waiting for orders he pushed forward and saved the bridge across Flint River, went into a fortified position within a mile and a half of Jonesboro, fought a sharp battle, and won a decided victory.

On January 20, 1865, the campaign of the Carolinas was commenced, the movements being for the purpose of encountering Johnston's Army of the Potomac. This march,

was full of peril and privations, in all of which General Logan was with his men day and night, wading swamps and streams, and doing all that the men of his corps were called on to suffer. The command moved on, driving the enemy at every point, passing through Columbia, Goldsboro and Fayetteville, until it reached Raleigh, near which the surrender of Johnston took place, and the campaign was closed.

After the close of the war, General Logan was offered the position of minister to Mexico, but declined. In 1866 he was elected to Congress from the State at large in Illinois by a majority of 55,987, and in the Fortieth Congress was one of the managers of the impeachment of President Johnson. In the next, the Forty-first Congress, Logan began to make his mark. He was then chairman of the Military Committee, and was charged with the duty of investigating the sale of cadetships to the naval and military academies. A number of Southern carpet-bag Republicans, it was thought, had swelled their exchequer in this wise. Pursuing the investigation with assiduity, Logan caught a South Carolina carpet-bagger named Whittemore, and exposed him in a speech in the House. To save expulsion, Whittemore resigned and resumed his profession of lay preacher.

In 1870, Logan was elected by the Illinois Legislature to the United States Senate to succeed Richard Yates. After serving his term he was defeated by the Independents, who united upon Hon. David Davis as his successor, but he was again elected to succeed Oglesby in 1879. He has always taken an active part in all the legislation of the Senate, and has introduced many useful bills. His efforts for the soldiers have been as tireless as patriotic.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE SOLDIER STATESMAN.

“Ten struck battles
I sucked these honored scars from, and all Roman;
Four years of bitter nights and heavy marches;
When many a frozen storm sang through my cuirass,
And made it doubtful whether that or I
Were the most stubborn metal, have I wrought through,
And all to try these Romans. Ten times a night
I have swam the rivers, when the stars of Rome
Shot at me as I floated, and the billows
Tumbled their watery ruins on my shoulders,
Charging my battered sides with troops of agues;
And still to try these Romans.”

TALFOURD.

“ARMA VIRUMQUE CANO.”

DECEMBER 20, 1860, Mr. Clarke, of New Hampshire, offered a resolution in the Senate of the United States, to inquire into the condition of the forts in Charleston Harbor. Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, arose in his place and opposed the resolution in the following extraordinary language:

“I propose to show that it is improper we should make this inquiry. We know that it must inflame the public mind to agitate this question. Whatever the garrison may be, the fact is that the President has not the power to increase it; that he could not send a company there without the fact being known before the company arrived. This

would certainly precipitate action, and it would convey a threat, attended by preparation to execute it, and naturally result in bringing about the very collision which every man who loves the peace of his country is now endeavoring to avert.

"In every view of the case, it is in my view utterly improper that we should institute such an inquiry as this. Senators here this morning spoke as if the garrison at Fort Moultrie were in hostile attitude against the city of Charleston. If so, the garrison should be removed. The site was given, as the army is maintained, for defense. Who will or can reverse the purpose?

"I trust there will be no collision. I trust these troops are but to perform the ordinary, and, so far as our country is involved, the peaceful, function of holding that fort until transferred to other duty. But if there be danger, permit me here to say, it is because there are troops in it, not because the garrison is too weak. Who hears of any danger of the seizure of forts where there is no garrison? There stand Forts Pulaski and Jackson, at the mouth of the Savannah River. Who hears of any apprehension lest Georgia should seize them? There are Castle Pinckney and Fort Sumter, in Charleston Harbor. Who hears of any danger of seizure there? The whole danger arises from the presence of United States troops."

Thus the modern Catiline. Within six days from the date of this utterance, the little garrison in Fort Moultrie, alarmed at the preparations making in Charleston for their capture, evacuated the fort at night and took refuge in Fort Sumter. Next morning the rebels in Charleston robbed the

arsenal, where the treacherous Floyd had stored, for their use, ten years' ordinary supplies; and armed bands from the city, thus supplied with stolen weapons and munitions of war, immediately seized Forts Moultrie and Pinckney, and commenced throwing up batteries for the bombardment of Sumter. All this they called a *peaceful* operation, which our government had no right to resist. Much more than this. They went so far as clamorously to assert that the action of the United States in removing a feeble garrison from one of its own forts, where it was menaced by an assault which it could not resist, to another fort where it would be more secure, was an insult to the State of South Carolina, and a declaration of war.

On the day that Mr. Davis was opposing, in the United States Senate, the strengthening of garrisons at forts in the harbor of Charleston, a convention of a few score of the "dominant race" in South Carolina, assumed to break up the government of the American Union, and demolish the United States as one of the nations of the earth, by adopting the following resolution: We, the people of the State of South Carolina, in convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the ordinance adopted by us in convention, on the 23d of May, in the year of our Lord 1788, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified, and also all acts and parts of acts of the General Assembly of this State, ratifying the amendments of said Constitution, are hereby repealed, and that the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of the United States of America, *is hereby dissolved.*" Therefore, according to the action of

South Carolina, dissolution of the Union was a determined fact on the 20th of December, 1860.

As this is not a history of the rebellion, but the preface of a memoir of one of the distinguished generals who repelled the onslaughts of secession, we are not particularly concerned in the details of the Confederate Government instituted at Montgomery, February 4, 1861, by the action of forty-two individuals, who adopted a constitution and by-laws, and chose Jefferson Davis President and Alexander H. Stephens Vice-president of the Southern Confederacy; we are not particularly concerned in the fact that it was an organization in which the people had no voice, and that its audacious usurpation had no parallel in history. Its arrogant assumptions were entirely overshadowed by the crimes it afterwards committed in the name of law, and its annals, if truthfully rendered, would condemn it to eternal execration.

In the preceding chapter it was found convenient to give a sketch in outline of the career of General Logan. It is proposed in the present chapter to supplement what was said in the former by adding the details of the more interesting parts of the general's public life. It is well known that he has chiefly drawn to himself the admiration of his countrymen by his exploits in the civil war, and it is to that part of his career that we now turn with pride. His military heroism is a legacy to the patriotic annals of our country, and the part which he bore in the day of our great trial must ever give him an honorable place among our great captains. As already said, General Logan's first military experience was as a soldier in the Mexican war. He was

at the time of his enlistment in that conflict but nineteen years of age, but his bearing in arms was such as to win for him from the first the esteem of his comrades and the admiration of his commanding officers.

July 21, 1861, was fought the first battle of Bull Run. Among the soldiers who bore arms in the ranks of the Union was a young Democratic Congressman from Illinois. He had experienced some of the toils and privations of a military campaign in the Mexican War, where, at the age of nineteen, he earned a reputation for soldierly courage and a lieutenancy; and when his country again called, he shouldered a musket and marched to the front in defense of the stars and stripes. He saw his country's cause wounded and distressed on that fateful Sunday at Manassas, and, under the impulse of a noble patriotism, resolved to devote himself to her relief.

The soldier Congressman was John A. Logan. In September, 1861, he returned to his home, and immediately busied himself in raising men for the army. When the Thirty-first Illinois Regiment was organized, he was commissioned as its colonel, and almost immediately took the field. On the seventh of the succeeding November this young regiment engaged in its first battle at Belmont, Missouri. The camp of the enemy was situated on a slight eminence, which rose a little back from the Mississippi, and thus the foe were enabled to witness the debarkation of the three thousand troops brought there to dislodge them. They were not only prepared to give the Union boys a warm reception on their own account, but, owing to the timely intimation they had of the attack, had secured a re-

enforcement of four regiments from Columbus, "on the old Kentucky shore."

A march of a mile and a half brought the national troops within range of the enemy's guns. The rebel camp was not protected by earthworks worth consideration, but in lieu thereof some twenty acres of timber had been felled immediately in front of their position. Concealed behind this very formidable abatis, over which it was almost impossible for our troops to force their way, the rebels fought with desperation, hurling a storm of bullets into the bosoms of the patriots who were struggling through the entangling branches; but after a struggle of more than two hours, the Union boys succeeded in surmounting the obstructions, and gained the clear space in front of the camps. The command was then given for a charge, and it was made with resistless impetuosity by the right, the left, and the center. The rebels numbered seven to eight thousand men. Three thousand, in a semi-circle, under the flag of the Union, were rushing upon them with a battle-cry which rose above the roar of artillery and the incessant volleys of musketry. Soon all these thousands were mingled in inextricable confusion, grappling hand to hand in the death struggle. A conflict like this must be, necessarily, brief. There rose, suddenly, a shout, louder, longer, more continuous than had been heard before, and which resounded far above the thunder of war's tempest. No one could mistake it. It was not the frenzied cry of onset, but the exultant peal of victory. The rebel flag was in the dust and the stars and stripes waved proudly, announcing that the field was redeemed from the degradation of secession. The Twenty-seventh and

Thirty-first Illinois—the latter Colonel Logan's regiment—and the Seventh Iowa, were the first who gained the camping ground of the enemy; but they were almost instantly followed by their equally eager comrades. The rebel troops retreated in great disorder, and their camp, stores, fixtures, and all belongings were utterly destroyed. Colonel Logan's soldierly qualities—his good judgment, coupled with impetuous dash and boldness—attracted the notice of General Grant in this engagement, and it doubtless had due influence upon the promotion of the gallant Illinoisan.

Colonel Logan's regiment performed conspicuous service at the taking of Forts Henry and Donelson, in February, 1862. At Donelson he was seriously wounded, and did not rejoin his command till the evening of the last day of the battle of Shiloh, the 7th of the succeeding April. In the following month he commanded a brigade at the siege of Corinth, which was by no means a terrible siege, but was so adroitly managed as to force the rebels from their position without a general engagement. But General Logan took a part in the operations so efficient and satisfactory that he elicited the warmest praise from General Sherman in the official dispatches. He had previously been promoted to the rank of brigadier-general.

General Logan's division of General McPherson's corps usually occupied the advance in the investment of Vicksburg, and on May 12, 1863, they came up with two brigades of the enemy, three miles in front of the town of Raymond. They were strongly posted in a piece of timber, from which they were driven, after some hard fighting. Falling back a little, they rallied at Faiden's Creek. The banks of this

stream are steep, and then contained but little water. In front there was an open field. Crouching in this creek—a natural rifle-pit—the rebels completely swept the field before them with their fire. A charge was ordered. After a brief but terrible struggle, the rebels were driven pell-mell from their ditch, in a thoroughly demoralized condition, and away they scampered in the utmost disorder, throwing away arms, knapsacks, and blankets. The Union loss was sixty-nine killed, three hundred and forty-one wounded, and thirty-two missing. Apparently the rebels had no time to report their loss, but it was more than double that of the patriots.

At the battle of Champion Hill, May 16th, the rebel general, Pemberton, occupied a strong position. His army was upon an eminence covered by a dense growth of timber. The battle commenced about nine in the morning. Knowing that several divisions of the Union army were hurrying forward to take part in the conflict, the rebels decided not to await their arrival, but to promptly assume the offensive. Massing their troops, they hurled them upon the center of General Hovey's line. Hovey held his position with great firmness for a time, but was at length compelled to fall back. About this time word came that General Logan had gained a position on the rebel left, and was threatening their rear. The patriots now charged with a huzza; the rebels were driven in confusion into the woods, and being vigorously pursued, they were pressed onward in full retreat. This battle decided the fate of Vicksburg. It was thenceforth impossible for Generals Pemberton and Johnston to effect a junction. Over one thousand prisoners, and two batteries, fell into the hands of the victors.



COL. LOGAN AT FORT DONELSON.



July 4, 1863, after a campaign of nearly six months, the city of Vicksburg, with its entire garrison, surrendered to the Union army. This event found General Logan in command of the Fifteenth Corps, and his personal merits, as well as those of his men, were signalized by the assignment to them of the post of honor in marching to occupy the city.

The well-known historian, John S. C. Abbott, in his account of the "March to Atlanta," says: "It seems invidious to select any one commander as entitled to special mention, when nearly all alike were patriotic and heroic in the highest possible degree. Thomas, McPherson, Logan, Scofield, Rosseau, Butterfield, and a host of others, merit a whole volume to do justice to their achievements. There was scarcely a day during this momentous campaign in which there were not engagements that, in the early history of the war, would not have been considered important battles."

Details of the many attacks against the rebels when they were intrenched upon Kenesaw Mountain, prove the military wisdom of General Logan in advising against them. With General McPherson, he was at General Sherman's headquarters, when it was decided to make the first attack upon Kenesaw. At once he protested, although he could scarcely believe the intention to make the assault was earnest. Upon discovering that it was really contemplated, he emphasized his protest, coupling it with the opinion that to send troops against that mountain would only result in useless slaughter. Finding his opinion likely to be disregarded, he went still further, and declared it to be a movement which, in his judgment, would be nothing less than the murder

of brave men. In all of this he was warmly seconded by General McPherson. They did not succeed in averting the slaughter.

After many previous unsuccessful attempts to dislodge the foe, two attacks were made upon his strongholds on the 29th of June, 1864. General Sherman says: "Both failed, costing us many valuable lives; among them those of Generals Harker and McCook. Colonel Rice and others were badly wounded. Our aggregate loss was near eight thousand, while we inflicted comparative little loss upon the enemy, who lay behind his well-formed breastworks." General Sherman resolved upon a flank movement. On July 2d, General McPherson moved his whole army down to Turner's Ferry, across the Chattahoochie. Much of the march was after sunset. It was a night of fearful storm and darkness. General Sherman hoped, under cover of night and the storm, to gain his position without exciting the suspicion of the foe. But rebel scouts detected the movements, and General Johnston fearing the inevitable result of such a position gained in his rear, abandoned Kenesaw, and all his important earthworks there, and retreated to the Chattahoochie. Next morning the banner of beauty was unfurled from the summit of Kenesaw, and the army of freedom, led by General Sherman, triumphantly entered the streets of Marietta. Johnston entrenched himself strongly on the Chattahoochie, but was soon driven out by another splendid flank movement, and onward marched the victorious legions of the Union to Atlanta, where they at once commenced vigorously forming their lines of siege.

July 20th, the first engagement occurred, begun by a

sortie from the rebels. Their repulse was complete. At every point they were driven back. When the sun went down and darkness covered the bloody field, the ground was covered with the abandoned rebel dead and wounded. The loss of both sides was heavy. The patriot killed and wounded was fifteen hundred. Our troops buried near seven hundred of the rebel dead. Their total loss, according to General Sherman, could not have been less than five thousand. Abbott says, "General Logan was conspicuous in this battle. His achievements merit more minute detail than it is possible to give in a general history."

Morning of July 21st, about two o'clock, the army was roused by sounds of movements within the rebel lines. Their whole army was concentrating for a general attack, but discovery thwarted the design of surprise. A terrible battle was fought, but with signal disaster to the foe. On the morning of the 22d, General McPherson, with the right of the army, was on both sides of the railroad from Decatur. General Logan was on the right, near the railroad.

The troops were all busy strengthening their fortifications. Immediately after the change of position previously indicated, the rebels emerged from their ramparts, heavily massed, and plunged in fiercest onset upon the troops commanded by Generals Leggett and G. A. Smith. They came in such overpowering numbers that our men, though valiantly returning the fire, were driven back, and were in imminent peril of utter rout. Their defeat would enable the foe to outflank the Army of the Tennessee, and to menace it with destruction. Intelligent patriot soldiers perceived all this, and fought with desperation. For three hours the unequal

contest continued. At length the Sixteenth Corps, which was on the move to re-enforce General Logan, arrived, and, uniting with the heroes of the day, rushed into the open field, and met the enemy face to face. The ground was broken and rocky and covered with thorny shrubs. The whole Army of the Tennessee was engaged, and, though greatly outnumbered, held its own. General McPherson was at all points, encouraging, directing, and inspiring his men. About twelve o'clock, as with his staff he was riding along the embattled lines, a fatal impulse led him into a gap between the Sixteenth and the Seventeenth Corps. Being in advance of his staff, he rode to the top of a ridge near by. A party of rebels sprang from ambush, and fired a volley of bullets upon him. The brave commander fell, mortally wounded.

General McPherson was among the noblest of that band of martyrs, who fell victims of the infamous rebellion of the South. "He was," writes General Sherman, "a noble youth, of striking personal appearance, of the highest professional capacity, and with a heart abounding in kindness, that drew to him the affections of all men." By the death of General McPherson, the command of the Army of the Tennessee devolved upon General Logan, "a man," says Sherman, "rivaling his predecessor in bravery, patriotism, and military ability." General Logan, as the news was transmitted to him on the field that the command now rested with him, brandished his sword, and cried out, "Come on, boys; let McPherson be the rallying cry." For two hours more the fight raged. Says Abbott: "Hood was a mere reckless, desperate 'fire-eater.' In a frenzy like that which reigns in a drunken

row, he hurled his masses, infuriated with whisky, upon the patriot lines. He seemed reckless of slaughter, apparently resolved to carry his point or lose the last man. General Logan was by no means his inferior in impetuous daring, and far his superior in all those intellectual qualities of circumspection, coolness, and judgment requisite to constitute a great general." At three o'clock in the afternoon the rebels, defeated at every point, retreated from the field. Their loss was enormous. "I entertain no doubt," writes General Sherman, "that the enemy sustained an aggregate loss of eight thousand men." Our loss was three thousand seven hundred and twenty-two.

On the 24th of July General Sherman ordered two forces of cavalry to move south from Atlanta to tear up railways and cut off Hood's sources of supply. One, of five thousand men, under General Stoneman, took the route to McDonough. The other, of four thousand, under General McCook, took the road which led through Fayetteville. Hood observed these movements and comprehended the threatened danger to his army. He therefore determined, at every risk, to break Sherman's line. On the 28th he massed his forces for the desperate endeavor. About noon of that day an immense force was hurled against the Fifteenth Corps, General Logan, but the charge was so sternly received, and such volleys of death poured into their ranks, that the insurgent officers could no longer control their men, and they broke and fled. Again and again were the routed rebels rallied by their desperate leaders. Six times between noon and four o'clock they were driven toward the frail intrenchment, behind which the patriots awaited them, and six

times they were scattered with terrific slaughter. Hood fought with the brute energy of a madman. Says one of the foremost historians of the rebellion, "On that bloody day General Logan's corps won great renown. Almost alone they met the assault of these vastly superior numbers, thus desperately hurled upon them."

McCook, Kilpatrick, Howard, and other efficient men had been south of Atlanta several weeks, and had accomplished good work in the destruction of railroads and other means of communication. Before Atlanta heavy engagements of arms had been of daily occurrence, without perceptibly weakening its defenses. But now a movement was made by General Sherman to cut off communication of every sort, and so occupy all the avenues by the Union army as to send starvation into the streets of Atlanta and seal its doom. The rebels made one last desperate endeavor to prevent this movement, which, being successfully accomplished, would drive them fugitives from the "Gate City of the South." General Sherman had marched more than a hundred miles over the hills and through the beautiful valleys of Northern Georgia. He had, day after day, in uninterrupted victory, driven the whole rebel army before him. And now the capture of Atlanta, with its arsenals, its magazines, its manufactories, its military stores, would open up to him an unobstructed path through the very heart of the State to the sea. He had fought his way through dense forests and mountain gorges. He was now to enter upon a level country, where no serious impediment could block his path. The rebels understood this perfectly, and stiffened their sinews for the greatest effort of their lives.

When General Howard arrived within half a mile of Jonesboro', about noon of the 31st of July, the rebels plunged upon him, inspired by all the energies of fury and despair. General Logan received the first onset. "He was just the man for the place and the hour," says Abbott. General Kilpatrick had gained an important eminence, from which his guns dealt destruction to the foe. In accumulated masses the surging rebels rolled up the hill. In a moment there was a portentous silence, until the serried hosts were within a few feet of the guns. Then came flash and roar, peal upon peal, volley after volley. The range was perfect. There was no need for deliberation or aim. The gunners worked with superhuman rapidity; shell, grape, canister, swept through the ranks of the foe like the hail of hell. Fifteen minutes passed. A puff of wind swept away the billowy smoke. The rebel column had vanished. The ground was red with blood and covered with the mangled, ghastly victims of war—some still in death, many writhing in mortal agony.

It was now life or death with the rebel "cause." Defeat was remediless ruin. A second column was forced up the hill. A second burst of war's terrific tempest swept them to destruction. And thus the battle raged till night. Hardee, the rebel leader at that point, had no regard for the lives of his men. Those most wretched of all the victims of the rebellion, the "poor whites," who by merciless conscription had been forced into the war, were driven to certain slaughter with that disregard of life which always characterizes venomous fanaticism. Next morning the battle was renewed. Nearly the whole of General Thomas's Di-

vision was now at hand to aid the Army of the Tennessee. After standing upon the defensive for a few hours and bloodily repelling several charges, the Union boys, in their turn, began making assaults. General Davis made one of the most gallant of these charges. Union and disunion struggled hand to hand over the barricade. The star-spangled-banner and treason's flag intertwined their folds. After a fight of four hours the whole rebel line was carried, and their battery of twenty-four guns captured. The foe retreated in confusion. The gloom of the night, the unknown, pathless forest, and the ragged nature of the ground forbade pursuit.

The disastrous intelligence was conveyed to Hood at Atlanta. At two o'clock in the morning heavy explosions were heard in the city, nearly twenty miles distant. Hood was blowing up his magazines, in preparation for flight. Next morning, August 2d, General Slocum, who was watching the movements of the rebels at Atlanta, discovered their retreat. They were escaping by roads which lead eastward towards Augusta. Slocum immediately entered the city in triumph. The colored population received him as their deliverer. Tongue can not tell the enthusiasm of their greeting. There were a few loyal citizens in the place, "faithful among the faithless." For their persistent patriotism they had suffered untold outrages. With tears which could not be restrained, and heartfelt thanksgiving, they welcomed the return of the flag of the free.

The foregoing group of some of the main incidents in General Logan's military career will guide the reader to those portions of our country's history which relate them in detail. There still remains an event of great im-

portance, which raised him very high in the estimation of the friends of General Thomas. He had been cut off from joining his command for the march to the sea, and subsequently reported to City Point for orders. He reached there just after the first order for General Thomas's removal before Nashville had been telegraphed to Washington, and its promulgation delayed. For the second time General Grant had become exceedingly impatient, and decided to remove Thomas. Upon the appearance of Logan, Grant ordered him to proceed at once to Nashville and await orders. His instructions contemplated his relieving General Thomas, if, on his arrival, no attack had been made upon Hood. Here was a most brilliant position offered—that of commander of the Army of the Cumberland, just as it had been reorganized and put in order for battle, and stood in its trenches ready for the word to advance. Had ambition alone actuated him, here was the opportunity of a lifetime of active service. But instead of obeying the spirit of his instructions, he proceeded with such deliberation as to prove beyond room for cavil that self-seeking was not the motive which controlled Logan in the war.

He moved to his new post without undue haste. He seemed to appreciate the situation far better than Grant himself. His leisurely journey to Nashville gave time for the battle to open under Thomas. And, when it opened, Logan telegraphed announcing the beginning of Thomas's success, and asking to be ordered to his old command. There is nothing in Logan's military history more creditable than this. Veterans of the Army of the Cumberland will neither forget nor fail to appreciate its true nobility.

Peace came shortly after the last of the foregoing events, and was hailed by the country with unbounded delight. It had been conquered in the interest of the Constitution and the Union, and was therefore heartily welcome to all good citizens. It was especially grateful to the distinguished leaders who had brought this success through much disaster, and whose business had been war, to the exclusion of every thing else, during four calamitous years. Under date of September 12, 1864, General Sherman thus expressed himself to the citizens of Atlanta: "The use of Atlanta for warlike purposes is inconsistent with its character as a home for families. War is cruelty, and you can not refine it; and those who brought war on our country deserve all the curses and maledictions a people can pour out. I know that I had no hand in making this war, and I know that I will make more sacrifices than any of you to-day to secure peace. But you can not have peace and a division of our country. If the United States submit to a division now, it will not stop, but will go on till we meet the fate of Mexico, which is eternal war. You might as well appeal against the thunder-storm as against the terrible hardships of war. They are inevitable, and the only way the people of Atlanta can hope once more to live in peace and quiet at home is to stop this war, which can alone be done by admitting that it began in error and is perpetuated in pride. We don't want your negroes, or your horses, or your houses, or your land, or any thing you have. But we do want, *and we will have*, a just obedience to the laws of the United States."

It is wholly a false notion that those whose vocation is war enjoy it for its carnage and destruction. When Cæsar

was engaging all the world in war, he wrote to Tully, "There is nothing worthier of an honest man than to have contention with nobody." It was the highest aggravation that the prophet could find in the description of the greatest wickedness, that "the way of peace they knew not;" and the greatest punishment of all their crookedness and perverseness was, that "they should not know peace." A greater curse can not befall the most wicked nation than to be deprived of peace. There is nothing of real and substantial comfort in the world that is not the product of peace; and whatsoever we may lawfully and innocently take delight in is the fruit and effect of peace. All this was fully understood by the great generals of the Union, and they were willing to sacrifice their own peace and comfort for a time, and even their lives, if necessary, to the end that peace might be restored to the country. Most of the volunteers in the army of the Union offered the same great sacrifice to secure peace. The loyal men of our country were compelled to conquer a peaceful condition, or live in anarchy. Their patriotism and strong desire for the restoration of law and order sent them to the front.

There are many noticeable things in the military record of General Logan. He took excellent care of his men, and never endangered their lives or sacrificed their comfort when it was avoidable. A battle was never lost or made doubtful through any action or lack of action on his part; but many were gained through his promptness, intrepidity, and address. General Schofield is credited with the assertion that "Logan's care of his division, and his personal presence and example, made it equal to two of the ordinary divisions of the army."

Herein he was like the Chevalier Bayard, who inspired his men with indomitable courage. His device was a porcupine, with the motto: "*Vires agminis unus habet*"—one man possesses the power of a whole troop. It is said that this was given him in consequence of his having singly defended a bridge against two hundred Spaniards. His example was constantly before his men to excite them to deeds of the greatest valor, and at the same time all his acts were controlled by justice and tempered with mercy. Logan was invariably as cool as was General Perer at the battle of Minden. His corps of grenadiers were exposed to a battery that carried off whole files at once. Perer, wishing them not to fall back, rode slowly in front of the line with his snuff-box in hand, and said: "Well, my boys, what's the matter? Eh, cannon? Well, it kills you, it kills you; that's all, my boys. March on, and never mind it."

No man in the army ever made headway more rapidly than did Logan. He made his way through oppositions as readily as some men tread the flowery paths of ease, and forced recognition of his merits through the high imperialism of genius. His displacement from a position which he had earned as the legitimate successor of General McPherson, and the promotion of Howard, was a blow from which Logan will never recover. He considered it a cruel and uncalled-for humiliation, as it undoubtedly was, and but for the entreaties of friends he would have resigned. Succeeding the evacuation of Atlanta, he went to Illinois to stump the State for Lincoln. After the election he returned to camp and led his corps in the remarkable campaign through the Carolinas. At the close of actual fighting, he marched his men

to Alexandria, and rode at their head in the grand review at Washington. Upon retiring from the military service he issued the following

FAREWELL ADDRESS.

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE TENNESSEE,
"LOUISVILLE, KY., July 13, 1865. }

"Officers and Soldiers of the Army of the Tennessee:

"The profound gratification I feel in being authorized to release you from the onerous obligations of the camp, and return you laden with laurels to the homes where warm hearts wait to welcome you, is somewhat embittered by the painful reflection that I am sundering the ties that trials have made true, time made tender, suffering made sacred, perils made proud, heroism made honorable, and fame made forever fearless of the future. It is no common occasion that demands the disbandonment of a military organization, before the resistless power of which mountains bristling with bayonets have bowed, cities have surrendered, and millions of brave men been conquered. Although I have been but a short time your commander, we are not strangers; affections have sprung up between us during the long years of doubts, gloom and carnage which we have passed through together, nurtured by common perils, sufferings, and sacrifices, and riveted by the memories of gallant comrades, whose bones repose beneath the sod of an hundred battle-fields, which nor time nor distance will weaken or efface. The many marches you have made, the dangers you have despised, the haughtiness you have humbled, the duties you have discharged, the glory you have gained, the destiny you have discovered for the country in whose cause you have conquered, all recur at

this moment in all the vividness that marked the scenes through which we have just passed. From the pens of the ablest historians of the land daily are drifting out upon the current of time, page upon page, volume upon volume of your heroic deeds, and, floating down to future generations, will inspire the student of history with admiration, the patriot American with veneration for his ancestors and the love of republican liberty, with gratitude for those who in a fresh baptism of blood reconsecrated the powers and energies of the Republic to the cause of constitutional freedom. Long may it be the happy fortune of each and every one of you to live in the full fruition of the boundless blessings you have secured to the human race. Only he whose heart has been thrilled with admiration for your impetuous and unyielding valor in the thickest of the fight can appreciate with what pride I recount the brilliant achievements which immortalize you and enrich the pages of our National history. Passing by the earlier, but not less signal triumphs of the war, in which most of you participated and inscribed upon your banners such victories as Donelson and Shiloh, I recur to campaigns, sieges, and victories that challenge the admiration of the world and elicit the unwilling applause of all Europe. Turning your backs upon the blood-bathed heights of Vicksburg, you launched into a region swarming with enemies, fighting your way and marching without adequate supplies, to answer the cry for succor that came to you from the noble but beleaguered army at Chattanooga. Your steel next flashed among the mountains of the Tennessee, and your weary limbs found rest before the embattled heights of Missionary Ridge, and there with dauntless cour-

age you breasted again the enemy's destructive fire, and shared with your comrades of the Army of the Cumberland the glories of a victory than which no soldiery can boast a prouder.

"In that unexampled campaign of vigilant and vigorous warfare from Chattanooga to Atlanta, you freshened your laurels at Resaca, grappling with the enemy behind his works, hurling him back dismayed and broken. Pursuing him from thence, marking your path with the graves of fallen comrades, you again triumphed over superior numbers at Dallas, fighting your way from there to the Kenesaw Mountain, and under the murderous artillery that frowned from its rugged heights, with a tenacity and constancy that find few parallels, you labored, fought, and suffered through the broiling rays of a Southern midsummer sun, until at last you planted your colors upon its topmost heights. Again on the twenty-second of July, 1864, rendered memorable through all time for the terrible struggle you so heroically maintained under discouraging disasters, and that saddest of all reflections, the loss of that exemplary soldier and popular leader, the lamented McPherson, your matchless courage turned defeat into glorious victory. Ezra Chapel and Jonesboro, added new luster to a radiant record, the latter unbarring to you the proud Gate City of the South. The daring of a desperate foe in thrusting his legions northward exposed the country in your front, and though rivers, swamps, and enemies opposed, you boldly surmounted every obstacle, beat down all opposition, and marched onward to the sea. Without any act to dim the brightness of your historic page, the world rang plaudits

when your labors and struggles culminated at Savannah, and the old 'Starry Banner' waved once more over the walls of one of our proudest cities of the seaboard. Scarce a breathing spell had passed when your colors faded from the coast, and your columns plunged into the swamps of the Carolinas. The sufferings you endured, the labors you performed, and the success you achieved in those morasses, deemed impassable, form a creditable episode in the history of the war. Pocotaligo, Salkahatchie, Edisto, Branchville, Orangeburg, Columbia, Bentonville, Charleston, and Raleigh are names that will ever be suggestive of the resistless sweep of your columns through the territory that cradled and nurtured, and from whence was sent forth on its mission of crime, misery, and blood the disturbing and disorganizing spirit of secession and rebellion.

"The work for which you pledged your brave hearts and brawny arms to the government of your fathers, you have nobly performed. You are seen in the past gathering through the gloom that enveloped the land, rallying as the guardians of man's proudest heritage, forgetting the thread unwoven in the loom, quitting the anvil, and abandoning the workshops to vindicate the supremacy of the laws, and the authority of the Constitution. Four years have you struggled in the bloodiest and most destructive war that ever drenched the earth with human gore; step by step you have borne our standard, until to-day—over every fortress and arsenal that rebellion wrenched from us, and over city, town, and hamlet from the lakes of the gulf, and from ocean to ocean, proudly floats the 'Starry Emblem' of our national unity and strength.

“Your rewards, my comrades, are the welcoming plaudits of a grateful people, the consciousness that in saving the republic you have won for your country renewed respect and power at home and abroad, that in the unexampled era of growth and prosperity that dawns with peace there attaches mightier wealth of pride and glory than ever before to that loved boast, ‘I am an American citizen.’

“In relinquishing the implements of war for those of peace, let your conduct ever be that of warriors in time of war and peaceful citizens in time of peace. Let not the luster of that bright name that you have won as soldiers be dimmed by any improper act as citizens, but as time rolls on let your record grow brighter and brighter still.

“JOHN A. LOGAN, Major-general.”

“Victorious the hero
Returns from the wars;
His brow bound with laurels
That never will fade,
While streams the free standard
Of stripes and of stars,
Whose field in the battle
The foemen dismayed.
When the Secession hosts
In their madness came on,
Like a tower of strength
In his might he arose,
Where danger most threatened
His banner was borne,
Waving hope to his friends
And despair to his foes.”

CHAPTER XIV.

THE SOLDIER STATESMAN.—Continued.

“Strange are the destinies of men and States!

And oft, within the little round of life,

Where effort and effect, so stern in strife,

Wage battle 'neath the banner of the fates,

The strong will works a noble purpose out,

By giving scope to energies sublime,

By putting age-old evils to the rout—

Making mankind its debtor for all time.

The soldier-statesman history re-cast,

And sent his spirit through its regions vast.”

ANON.

IN THE COUNCIL.

SOME of Logan's old political associates in Illinois expressed surprise that he could come back from the army a Republican, but this was only for talk. They knew his Republicanism dated from his first encounter with Democracy armed, at Bull Run, and that he stumped his State for the Republican ticket during the second Lincoln campaign. They were aware, too, of his ability to defend Republican principles, for he had proved it by deeds of valor whose fame is imperishable. If they were to judge the soundness of his conversion by the clearness and unanswerable force of its declaration, or by deeds, which are a still better test, then there was no lack of testimony; and in confirmation of it all, General Logan went back to Congress in 1866,

elected by the State at large, by a majority of 55,987. He made his mark in the House by that persistent activity which had characterized his military life during a campaign of four busy years, and was promptly recognized by his associates and the country as one of the great leaders of the Republican party. He has been a genuine worker in the national councils. A fair record of what he has said and done there would fill a score of ponderous volumes, and prove of striking interest to every student of political history.

Early in this new era of his legislative life he made a speech in the House, on "Democratic Principles," which was everywhere regarded as a remarkable effort; and for a clean and thorough dissection of the subject, it has never been excelled. The joints were severed "at the clavicle, elbow, hip, ankle, and knee," and then the members articulated to properly show the skeleton of an organization which had nothing to recommend it but dead men's bones. He was found to be quite as skilled in the use of the mental scalpel as in the Toledo blade of the man of wrath, and exhibited the "equivocation of the fiend that lies like truth" in all its native hideousness. During ten years or more the Democratic party had been a subject for dissection, in general and in detail, and although, under the battery of events, it made an occasional spasmodic movement, it possessed neither pulse nor brain, and long previous to the date referred to its heart had been sealed hermetically in a bottle of high-wines.

This speech was delivered July 16, 1868, after the nomination of Grant, by the Republicans, and Seymour, by the

Democrats. We would be glad to reproduce it in full, but have space for only a few paragraphs. Referring to the platform of the New York (Seymour) Convention, he says:

“The Democratic platform is a monument which is intended to hide decay and conceal corruption. Like many other monuments, it attracts attention by its vast proportions and excites disgust by the falsity of its inscriptions. The casual observer, knowing nothing of the previous life of the deceased, who reads this eulogy upon the tomb, might imagine that all the virtues, the intellect, and the genius of the age were buried there. But to him who knows that the life had been a living lie, an incessant pursuit of base ends, the stone is a mockery, and the panegyric a fable.

“It is my purpose to show, sir, that this Democratic platform is mockery of the past, and that its promises for the future are hollow, evasive, and fabulous; that it disregards the sanctities of truth, and deals only in the language of the juggler. It is like the words of the weird witches, who wrought a noble nature to crime and ruin, and then in the hour of dire extremity—

“ ‘Kept the word of promise to the ear,
And broke it to the hope.’

“If we find that its proclamations of principles are only a bait for votes; if we find that its resolutions are inconsistent, the one with the other, and all contradictory of the resolutions of previous years; if we find that instead of being a party promoting the prosperity of the country it is the party who attempted the life of the country; if we find that it is a party whose policy was suicidal in peace and

fratricidal in war; if we find that it is a party which has adhered to no principle in times past except the principle of perpetuity; if we find that the men who now lift their voices as its leaders are unworthy men who bared their blades in rebellion; if we find there a gathering of all who are wildly ambitious, thoroughly unscrupulous, and dangerously discontented, then we may safely say their pledges are all false, and we may warn not only the soldiers and sailors, but all good men, and particularly all young men, to avoid their snares and flee from their delusions. It requires an unusual condition of public affairs to produce such an unusual platform, and we require to know what that condition is before we can judge of it. Let us see what is the condition, and what produced it. A very few years ago the Democratic party were in power. They had been in power for many, many years before. Whatever of good there was in their policy they had time to develop it. Whatever of evil there was they had had opportunity to correct. They did neither the one thing nor the other. There were no hostile armies then. The people imagined that there was peace. A few only believed that there could be war. But war was imminent. Under the surface of peace that party were preparing for war. In the council-chambers of the Nation they howled for war. In the different departments of the government where they were trusted and uncontrolled they were preparing for war. In the minds of the young and unsuspecting they sowed the seeds of war. In their newspapers they threatened war. In the lecture-room, in the college, from the pulpit and the rostrum, they invoked war, and finally, when they judged the time had come when the

Nation was most helpless, and the weapons of defense most useless, they made war, and war of what kind? Actual war, treasonable war, war against those who had loved and fostered them, upon co-dwellers under the same roof and brothers by birth and blood. How did war find us? It found us as the ship is found when pirates scuttle her, open to the mercy of the waves and ready to be engulfed. . . .

"I have shown how we wrestled with our adversity, and finally how we overcame our enemies. We bore the brunt of arms for the sake of our country, and to uphold its constitution, its laws, and its liberties. We had but one desire, and that was, 'Peace to our country.' We had but one anxiety, and that was to preserve intact this chosen land. Well, sir, as I said, the war was over and the victory was ours. There was no longer a rebel in arms. They had dispersed, as we supposed, never to meet again.

"But, sir, we were mistaken; they have met again. Where? Why, this time upon Northern soil and in a Northern city, in the city of New York, the great metropolis of this country, in Democratic convention. I do not say that every man who met there had been a rebel; but I do say that all the rebels met there who are now leading in public life, and who hope for public position. It was the same old story over again. The same old faces to see. The men who had held this government for years and plotted to destroy it while they held it were there. The men who fought to destroy this government when they could no longer hold it were there. The men who, though they had never plotted to destroy it or fought against it, yet quietly acquiesced in the designs of those who did, were there. The men who

have always given blind allegiance to the behest of party regardless of the good of the country, were there. The men who have always been the praters and croakers and false prophets of the country, were there; and a few men who had once served their country, but were lured off by fatal ambition and the hope of spoils, were there. Good men may have been there; but bad men were most certainly there; and just as certainly the bad outnumbered the good; and these are the men, sir, who complain of us. These are the men who say we have violated the law and usurped the Constitution. We have told them to the contrary many and many a time. In these very halls, before they deserted their places, we assured them that we desired nothing but the law and the Constitution. After they had erected their first batteries, and before they fired on Fort Sumter, they were again assured that the law and the Constitution should be kept inviolate. Even after they had waged their fiercest war upon us, the President of the United States once more proclaimed that we fought only to protect the Constitution and the laws.

“Again and again, by the camp-fire, under the flag of truce, and in the hospitals, and in exchange of prisoners and in parleys and communications they were made acquainted with the fact that we had but one object, and that was to enforce the Constitution and the laws. And yet again, sir, when the battle was at a white heat, and strong arms and strong hearts wrought wounds and death, when the air was filled with lamentations and pierced by cries of agony, when the greedy earth drank up the gushing blood of our bravest and our best, we still advanced but the one standard,

which was the old starry banner, emblematic of the Constitution, the laws, our unity and strength. Ah, sir, it must have been a humiliating scene at that convention. Were the loyal soldiers and citizens of this country looking on when the rebel General Preston nominated the former Union General Blair? Did the loyal sailors and soldiers hear the rebel Wade Hampton second the nomination? Did the rank and file of the loyal men listen to the butcher of Fort Pillow—Forrest? Where were then the memories of former treacheries, of a nation undone and a Constitution usurped, of laws violated and civil slaughter instituted?

“I have no desire to keep alive old animosities, or to recall the past with a view to let it rankle. I am willing that the lessons of the war should be their own monitor to those who learned them. But when I hear those who risked their lives to save our country charged with betraying our country; when I hear those whose shorn limbs and maimed trunks are witnesses of their devotion to the laws charged with breaking the laws; when I hear those who are now lying in their premature graves for the cause of the Constitution charged with usurping that Constitution, I can not help it if my indignant heart beats fast and my utterance grows thick, while I demand to know, ‘Who are ye that denounce us?’

“It is for this reason, Mr. Chairman, that I say the present issue is one which concerns our young men greatly, because it contains the question whether in any future war it is worth while for our young men to embark in it. Heretofore, it has always been held in all ages, ancient and modern, that he who defended his country was entitled to the gratitude of his country. But if it shall be decided by this

election that he who defends his country is to be aspersed by his country, then the sooner it is understood the better it will be for those who would have otherwise periled their existence at the call of their people! That issue is involved in this campaign, and no artifice or chicanery should be permitted to bury it out of sight. But what right have those to complain who were in the Democratic convention but yet were not in the rebel ranks? Did they aid us to suppress the rebellion? Were they prompt with men and money in our need? Were they hopeful in our dark days and joyful in our bright days? Did they cheer our soldiers and give them the strength of their blessings and a God-speed? Did they nurse them when sick and succor them when wounded? No, sir; they did not, or else they would not be found to-day in such company. The civilian who supported the military in the day of the war has never yet complained that we have done great wrong, or never yet desired to take the reigns of government from the Republican party.

“This is no schism in our own ranks. This is no falling off of those who once were with us because of our misdeeds. This is no branch of the Union party saying that we are tyrants and usurpers and robbers and destroyers, and that therefore they can support us no longer. Not at all. It is simply our old enemies who have fought us in the halls of Congress and on the battle-field and in campaigns for years, never winning, ever failing, but always fierce and hateful. It affords me sincere pleasure that I may look again upon those who met so lately in convention at the city of Chicago. What a sight was there! Mr. Chairman, there were gathered together the men who had served their country in

every capacity to which duty called them ; the men whose devotion had been as unswerving as their fidelity was unquestioned ; men whose sole thoughts and whose constant thoughts were for their country's good, and how best and soonest to make it manifest and permanent ; men from the closet, men from the camp, men from the public station, men from private life, men of distinction, men unknown—but men, all of them, whithersoever they came and whatsoever they were, all of them men who came on the one thought of how yet to aid their country.”

The Republicanism of the man who uttered these words will scarcely be doubted.

Among other incidental characteristics of General Logan may be mentioned his consistent and devoted loyalty to General Ulysses S. Grant, late commander-in-chief of the Union army and President of the United States. It will have been noted that on General Grant's retiracy from the Presidency he was still in the hale vigor of mature manhood. It became a curious question what should be done with so illustrious a citizen. Among other plans was one proposed by the Senate bill No. 1992, to place that distinguished personage on the retired list of the army. The measure came up for consideration on the 24th of January, 1881. During the session of that day the bill was called by General Logan, who said : “ I desire to call up for consideration the bill to place Ulysses S. Grant, late general and late President of the United States, upon the retired list of the army. I did not intend to detain the Senate a moment ; but inasmuch as the remarks of the Senator from Delaware have been to a certain extent directed to me, appealing to

me to allow this matter to go over on account of some important bill in a similar direction, I shall be excused for saying a word. It is a matter entirely with the Senate to say what disposition it shall make of this bill. I will not discuss the bill as providing for an exceptional case. I will not discuss the propriety of retiring ex-Presidents of the United States in connection with this bill; but I will merely say, that in a great republic like this, where there have been so many bills passed in the Senate for cases of an exceptional character in connection with the military service, the opposition to such a bill as this looks to me as being rather of a personal character than on account of the features of the bill.

“When this great country was seething and writhing in pain, and a man led the victorious armies of this Union to preserve it for the benefit of you on that side of the chamber as well as of us on this side, shall we be less magnanimous than monarchs have been in past ages? When we read the history of England and see what was done for Wellington, their great general, and for Nelson, at the head of the English navy, I ask, is it wise for us, when a similar act shall be asked for one of the greatest leaders who ever led the army for the preservation of the peace and prosperity of this great land, to higggle about the question as to whether a man should be retired as an ex-President or as an army officer?

“The office of major-general was made in the Senate but one week ago for an officer of the army, that he might be retired upon that rank, he never having held that position; and that bill was passed by unanimous consent, not a

vote against it. When a man was placed on the retired list—one of the colonels of the army as a brigadier-general—but a little over a year ago, there was no voice raised against it. When a man residing in Oregon, who resigned his colonelcy in the army at the beginning of the war for reasons that I will not now mention, was made a colonel in the army by the action of the Senate and the House, and by almost a unanimous vote, that he might go on the retired list, not one objection, though in fact no great military service had been rendered in the cause of this great government, but merely because the persons benefited were favorites with a few, I will not say in this chamber, but in this country. All this has been done without objection; but when the name of the great captain and leader of all the mighty host of this Nation is presented by those who are friendly to him, that he may be placed on the retired list merely with the rank that he held before (a position which he was much disinclined to part from and give up—I know this of my own knowledge)—when he through his friends to-day asks that the same thing may be done for him that has been done for others—I will not say some that are unworthy, but for men certainly not deserving as much at the hands of this great Republic of ours as is Ulysses S. Grant—opposition is made to it.

“I intend to insist while this session of Congress exists that this bill shall be voted on in the Senate. Look at the banner that hangs upon the walls of this house in which we are to-day, typical of the banner upon the walls of this mighty Nation; it reminds me that the people of this country owe one debt of gratitude that they never can pay, and that

is the debt they owe to the defenders of this mighty Republic. I now desire to know if that has been wiped out from the memories and hearts of the American people.

“But recently we were told and asked to believe that the hand that presented a shadow on the wall of this mighty Nation of ours, calculated at least to arouse fears in the minds of the people as to the future happiness and peace of this great Republic, would soon be withdrawn, and the shadow disappear. I hoped that that might be true; but when the name of the man of all others to whom this country is indebted, yea, sir, indebted more than all the millions of gold now within the vaults of the treasury could pay, is presented to the American Congress, there are substitutes offered; there are various and divers ways of maneuvering and dodging around it, that something else may be done which will not make this an exceptional case. To retire this man as an ex-President, along with others, does not make it an exceptional case. I desire that it shall be exceptional, and that it shall be a recognition of Grant, not as President of the United States, but as the great captain of the loyal legions of this mighty Republic. It is for that reason that I desire this bill passed, and for no other reason.

“But a few days have gone by since, by one united vote and effort on the part of the other side of this chamber, a person was retired, at least as far as the Senate could do it, with the highest rank he had ever held in the regular army of the United States. Let me ask, Senators, why retire that man? For his great services? For his great loyalty to this country? I will not say he was disloyal; but certainly he was condemned by his peers in the army and dismissed from

the service for improper conduct. Day after day Senators on that side of the chamber stood up and pressed his claim, and against all the protests from this side that bill was passed. Then when there is presented the name of a man against whom no word can be uttered as to his loyalty, as to his courtesy, as to his great ability as a soldier in the war of this mighty Nation for its preservation, objections are made.

"Sir, all I have to say is, let the future history of this mighty Nation of ours, if it refuses to do this act for this man, stand out so that all the Nations of the earth may read it and judge as to the generosity of the United States."

One of the principal episodes in the Senatorial career of General Logan has been his determined antagonism to the bill for the relief of General Fitz John Porter. The nature of the question involved in this measure is well understood by the public. It will be remembered that in the second battle of Bull Run General Porter was charged with purposely withholding his division of the army from the field until Pope was ruinously defeated. A military trial ensued, and Porter was condemned on this charge, dismissed from the service and reduced to infamy. In the course of time, however, some new light was thrown upon his conduct at the battle, and his friends exerted themselves to procure a reversal of the sentence. To this end a bill was introduced into Congress. The measure for his restoration was for the most part approved by the Democrats and opposed by the Republicans. General Logan was among the number who believed Porter to have been guilty, and, so believing, he made a vehement opposition to the bill before Congress. His great address

on the subject was begun in the Senate on the 29th of December, 1882. General Logan said :

“Mr. President : I know that it is very difficult for Senators to be required at each session of Congress to listen to a protracted discussion of this question, but I deem it my duty as long as I hold a place in the Senate, having very strong convictions in reference to this question, to oppose the consummation proposed by the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. Sewell], and if Senators will give me their attention I shall try to discuss this proposition upon the law and the facts. I think there would be no difficulty in arriving at a correct conclusion in reference to the guilt or innocence of this person, who was charged before a court-martial, if we could divest ourselves of much of what I might term extraneous matter that is constantly thrust into the case.

“This seems to be the court of last resort in this case. In other words, the Congress of the United States is asked by this bill to take up and review the proceedings of a court-martial, to examine the evidence given before a Board of Inquiry subsequent to the court-martial, and to decide whether or not that court-martial made a proper decision according to the law and the facts.

“If the court-martial decided correctly, according to the law and the facts before it, then Congress ought certainly not to place this man in the army again. If that court-martial decided against the law and the facts, I do not deny that the power exists in Congress to authorize his nomination to a place in the army. I deny the power of Congress to review the court-martial ; but that they have the right to authorize him to be put in the army I do not deny. When

this case was formerly before the Congress of the United States there was then a continuing sentence of the court-martial which prohibited him from holding any office of trust or profit under the United States. The main question discussed before the Senate at that time, or the one that engrossed the mind of the Senate, was whether or not Congress had the power to review the action of a court-martial and set aside its sentence. I took the ground then and maintained it, I believe, by decisions of the courts from the time decisions were made in this country in reference to questions of that kind, that Congress did not have the power. Since that time an application has been made to the President of the United States to remit so much of the judgment of the court-martial as prohibited him from holding any office of trust or profit. That has been done. Now the question is whether or not the record of the court-martial shall be examined by Congress, and Congress decide that that court-martial went beyond its jurisdiction, beyond the law and the facts, in finding a verdict of guilty. If Congress comes to the conclusion that it did, then Congress may by an act give the President of the United States authority to nominate him again to a position in the army. Now, what is the point? There are but two questions: First, What is the law. Second, What is the evidence applicable to that law for this tribunal to examine. As I said, if much extraneous matter was laid aside there would be but little difficulty in arriving at a correct conclusion in this case.

“The Senator from New Jersey yesterday, in making his remarks, might have been saved a great deal of trouble if he had asked for the first volume of the proceedings of this

board of officers. If the latter part of it had been read to the Senate, it would have saved him from making his speech. If any one will examine the arguments which have been made in his behalf from the time this case was first presented to Congress down to the present time, he will find it is a repetition of the argument made and filed before that board by Fitz John Porter himself, and all the letters, orders, documents, and every thing that was presented here yesterday are found in connection with his argument before that board.

"I was criticised yesterday by the Senator from New Jersey because of a report which I made. But before proceeding to that, if the Senate will excuse me, I desire to state the propositions I am going to discuss.

"It has been attempted in all the arguments made in defense of Fitz John Porter to impress upon the minds of the Senate and the country maxims that would apply to this case. As read, re-read, reiterated everywhere, it has been said that in these maxims it is found that a commanding officer's order is not necessarily to be obeyed, unless he is present and observing the situation. That is not the law, and I will show it.

"One of the great leading maxims in Napoleon's military experience—you will find it in all his campaigns, and it was a standing order to all his corps commanders—was that when the general of the army was not present to give orders, each corps commander should march to the sound of the enemy's guns. That was a general order in all his campaigns. We were told yesterday, and were told by the board which is considered immaculate by Senators and by

some gentlemen in this country, that Pope was mistaken first as to the road. Second, he was mistaken as to what was in Porter's front at the time. Pope mistaken. Why, Mr. President, all the argument that has been made in defense of this man has been an attempt to try General John Pope and not to try the facts in the case of Fitz John Porter. I desire to reply now, before I go any further, first to the Senator's remarks of yesterday in reference to my report, and then I will come back and confine myself to the law and the facts in this case.

"The Senator from New Jersey criticised my report because I had charged that this was an illegal board, without responsibility, without the power to try or to decide or to swear witnesses, and he undertook to argue that I had attacked the board because I stated these facts in my report. Did I state any thing that was not true?

"But, sir, before proceeding further, I want to say that during all the time I shall discuss this question—from now until I conclude—I am willing to be interrupted, and asked any question on any law proposition or any of the facts, in order that we may all understand it and have it made plain.

"Did that board have authority to try this case? I say no. Why? Where did the President get authority to authorize any person to administer oaths, who was not a competent officer to administer oaths? Will some one tell me? Where does the President get authority to appoint a board to re-examine court-martial proceedings that have been approved? I should like some lawyer to show me the law. Sir, this was attempted when we discussed this ques-

tion here before. A Senator got up and read law to the Senate, and called my attention to the fact that the law authorized a court of inquiry. That only proved to any one who had any knowledge of military law that that Senator did not understand military law. The board of inquiry authorized by the statute is a board to inquire into an officer's conduct then in the army, to see whether his conduct is such that charges should be preferred against him before a court-martial. That is a court of inquiry. This was not a court of inquiry. It was a board of three officers appointed by the President of the United States, without any law, without any authority, without any justification or excuse in law.

"As I said before, I say again, if the President wanted to authorize three officers, or a dozen officers, to examine into a question and report to him, to say what the facts were, so that he might form an opinion as to his right to pardon a man, that is one thing; but when a board examines a case and makes a recommendation that a man should be restored to the army and paid over \$70,000, which was their recommendation (that is, it would have been that amount to have put him back as they recommended him to be put back), that is beyond their authority; it is beyond the scope of the authority of any power that exists in law, and I defy contradiction from any man—lawyer, judge, or Senator.

"Mr. President, any man who will examine this case carefully, and I may say that I have examined it carefully, without prejudice, will come to the conclusion that this board paid little attention whatever to the evidence; they perverted and distorted it in every possible way. Sir, curi-

ous things may strike a board as well as other people. I should not have said a word about this board in this debate if it had not been that it has been brought forward again as the judgment of a court that we could not gainsay. I ask any man to read it fully and see if it is not a trial of McDowell, too. Strange to say, McDowell was then of an age, or would have been in a few months, to be retired from the major-generaley, and Pope was the next ranking officer. Two of the gentlemen on this board were applicants, one for McDowell's place, and one for the brigadiership. If one could succeed, both could; if one failed, both must fail. That should not affect their judgment, however, and perhaps did not; but, strange to say, in every thing, up to the time that John Pope was appointed and confirmed, there has been in this case a war upon Pope to destroy him. Of course that board had no such idea in view, because neither of the two gentlemen who were on the board expecting place would do such a thing. They are honorable gentlemen, and we exonerate them from every thing of that kind; but it is curious that the attack has always been on Pope. I presume that will stop now, inasmuch as he has been appointed, and there will be no further necessity for making war upon him. Let us go a little into the unwritten history of this matter. Sir, it was very generally believed that Fitz John Porter and George B. McClellan, and others that might be named, formed a little coterie in the Army of the East. One was to be President; what the others were to be, God only knows. McClellan had been relieved from the command of the Army of the Potomac, and Pope had been put in his place. It was said, too, all through the campaign, that in every pos-

sible way he sneered at Pope, ridiculed him and his movements.

“Mr. President, the Senator who votes that Fitz John Porter was not convicted properly and legally votes that he obeyed that order, or that it was impossible to obey it; any one who votes to relieve this man from the sentence of that court-martial votes in the face of all the testimony that was given, even by his own friends, and votes that the court-martial found him guilty when he ought to have been found not guilty, when, in fact, the evidence shows that he never attempted to obey the order. The law says that he must obey it; that he subjects himself to the death to obey it. He violated the law, and violated the order; and yet, forsooth, you say he is not guilty! Well, if gentlemen can do that, it is for them to say, and not for me; but that is the fact, and there is the law. Under the law and the evidence, the judgment of that court-martial was as righteous a judgment as ever was given. It was just, it was right, because it was in accordance with the law, and in accordance with the evidence.

“If commanders of divisions and corps are to be permitted to be judges for themselves, as to whether they will obey an order or not, then I would not give a straw for all the armies of the United States. If a corps commander or division commander say the same, why can not their colonels and their captains say the same? What kind of an army would you have if you gentlemen were all division commanders or corps commanders, and were off some miles, the enemy was approaching, and the commanding general should send orders to each one of you to concentrate at day-

light to-morrow morning, for the reason that he expected either to make an attack or to be attacked, and each man should say, "Well, it is too dark; I will not go until to-morrow morning," and no one of you started? If one of you may disobey an order, all may. Suppose no one starts, and the general is left there with a small force to fight, the next morning, nobody to come to his rescue, nobody to obey his orders; what kind of an army would you have?

"The truth is, he was determined not to fight. He was determined not to obey that order. He was determined that John Pope should be whipped that day, which he was, or at least on the next day he was whipped, but that day was the cause of it. His troops were so broken up and demoralized that day that when the fresh troops came in he was not sufficiently strong to withstand the force that was brought against him.

"Will it do for any one to argue here that because a man thinks he has not force enough to whip an army that therefore he must not assault that army, if a fight is going on anywhere in connection with that and another army? Will any man say that it is good military discipline, that it is good soldierly quality, that it is the proper way for an officer to perform his duty? Would any one say so? What difference would it have made to him as a soldier? Suppose he had gone in there feeling that he would be whipped. He says in his own dispatch that he thinks Pope's army was being driven to the rear, that it was retiring. Was it any worse for him to be retiring than it was for some of the others to be retiring, or to be driven back than another? It is the fate of war that men shall be whipped. It is the

fate of war that men shall be driven back and pushed forward. If I had a mind to stop here and quote the history of the different battles that we all know and are conversant with, so far as historical accounts are concerned, I could show where small detachments of troops have saved a great army. Without quoting it, read the battle of Marengo, where a small force, late, when the day was apparently lost, came in and won the battle.

“When the Senator from New Jersey was quoting one of the maxims of Napoleon I answered it by quoting another, that troops should always march to the sound of the enemy’s guns. It was because that maxim of Napoleon was not followed out that Napoleon fell. It was because at the battle of Waterloo one of his general’s did not march to the sound of the enemy’s guns that lost Napoleon that battle and lost him his power. If the maxim of Napoleon had been followed out, in all probability he would have been successful on that battle-field as well as he was on others.

“During the whole day, as Senators will understand from reading this evidence, the only order he gave that he executed was in reference to hiding his men in the woods when two little pieces of artillery at Hampton Cole’s house fired a couple of pieces of railroad iron, as some of the witnesses state; others say that there were four shots fired; others say more, some say two, but it is immaterial. Suppose there were twenty shots fired, what was the order from General Porter? One battery, under Morrell, replied to it. The evidence shows that the rebel battery was silenced. What was Porter’s order? It was to hide his men in the woods and deceive the enemy, to play

the same game on them that they would play on him. Morrell reports back, 'I put my troops all in the woods,' except what? 'Except Hazlett's battery.' He was told to put that in too, but he testifies that he did not do that for he wanted to reserve one battery for defense. That is the character of the orders that Fitz John Porter gave on the twenty-ninth.

"Mr. President, if this man had been a volunteer soldier he would not have been permitted to stay in this country. There is no man who was in the volunteer service, a mere volunteer, who would ever have had 'cheek' enough to come before Congress or any other body and ask that this evidence be spread out before the world and on it a reversal of his sentence. Sir, this only shows one of the dangers to the future of this country. Class, sir, once on the bounty of the government always on the bounty of the government, no matter what wrongs they may perpetrate. See them swarm now at Washington, plying their influence in this unholy cause.

"Last night when I made the statement that Longstreet's forces were engaged on the twenty-ninth, the Senator from New Jersey denied it. He said they were not engaged, and that if I could prove it I would put the chief commander in a very bad position. As I said then, I was not discussing the chief commander but discussing the conduct of Fitz John Porter. The truth is, the evidence when taken all together shows that the Confederate testimony, at least as to the time of arrival of Longstreet on the battle-ground, is doubtful; it disagrees very materially with the evidence on the other side showing the position the troops occupied near

Groveton and by Lewis's Lane and by the Leachman House. At the time Fitz John Porter made his first defense, as the Senator well knows, he claimed that there were only ten or fifteen thousand troops on his line that he would have to engage. Now he claims that there were 25,000. It was immaterial whether there were 25,000 or 50,000.

"Gentlemen try to excuse this man Porter, with 12,500 men, according to the reports, from attacking not the same number or near the same number as his own when the flank was exposed and it was not a front attack. This is the most astounding thing to me I have ever known, that one minute they will insist that Porter thought there were 10,000 or 15,000 troops in his front and he was afraid to attack those, and then a great chief will come up and put the lines square in front and tell you there were 25,000 men there ready to drive Porter right in the front. Then you read the report of Lee, of Longstreet, of Stuart, of Rosser, of Hood, of every one of the Confederates—and I have their reports right here—they every one show that the corps of Porter was on Longstreet's flank, and they show that Longstreet had in the battle of Groveton from 4 o'clock that evening until 12 o'clock that night, when they were brought back on the road toward Haymarket, over twelve thousand troops engaged with Pope's command at Groveton which were drawn from his corps; and yet they insist that Porter would have had to attack twenty-five thousand men after he got the 4.30 order.

"Sir, you may take this case from one end to the other, and it has the most singular history of any case that ever occurred during any war. It shows that this man intended

from the first that Pope should never succeed. He went just far enough to make a pretense of obeying orders without obeying them; just far enough only to have it understood that he tried in some degree to obey orders, but in this instance he tried in no degree. He refused to obey the orders, refused to move forward. Suppose it had been twelve o'clock at night. I remember a little incident that occurred once during the war, showing what a man may do after night. At Resaca there was a line of troops—probably the Senator from Georgia knows the situation of Resaca—opposite fortifications in the direction of a bridge that ran across the river. I suppose the Senator from Georgia remembers the bridge?"

MR. BROWN—"Yes, sir."

MR. LOGAN—"This line ran down to protect the fortifications, throwing a wing down in the direction of the river. They were occupied by a few troops—I do not know how many. A brigade under General Charles Woods, a brother of Judge Woods, of the Supreme Bench, who was in my command at the time, was ordered to assault those works at nine o'clock at night. He moved his brigade in the dark and got under cover of a little stream, and assaulted them at nine o'clock at night and took the works. Will a man tell me, when a small brigade can assault breastworks at nine o'clock at night, when no moon was shining—for it was a darker night than the one in question—that it is an excuse for an officer who receives an order to attack at once that it is too late for him to attack? Why was it not too late for Longstreet's forces to attack Pope's forces near Groveton? Was it too late for McDowell's troops to be moving that

night at eleven o'clock and twelve o'clock, when these two commanders, General Wilcox and General Hood, both report that they moved between eleven and twelve o'clock back on that road in the direction of Haymarket on the night of the 29th? Then you tell me it was too dark for this man to attack! Was it any worse for him to attack than it was for the other side? This reminds me of one peculiar feature that is always the case in war: a soldier who commands an army or part of an army, who has full opportunity to manage his troops, the next morning after a battle, if you ask him as to the condition of his troops, will tell you, 'They are cut all to pieces.' I have heard it a hundred times: 'My troops have been cut all to pieces.' You will hear that from commanding officers of regiments, of brigades, and of divisions. But suppose you ask the question, 'What do you think is the condition of the troops on the other side?' and the reply will be, 'Cut all to pieces.' But he does not think of that; he only thinks of his own troops; he does not think of the condition of the other side.

"In conclusion, I want to ask Senators on both sides of this chamber, and I want some one to tell, why it is that when this case comes up it seems to be decided on political grounds. What is there in this case of politics? It is a mere question as to whether this man was properly convicted or improperly convicted. It is not a question that politics should enter into at all. It is the case of a man who was convicted during the war, while a great many of you gentlemen were down South organizing your court-martials and trying your own officers if they misbehaved. You tried them according to the laws which you considered ruled and

governed your army at that time. We tried ours on our side according to the rules which governed our army at that time and govern it now.

“Is it possible that history is going to record the fact that with this man as guilty as he was of violating the orders sent to him, each and every one, upon which he was convicted, that our friends, because they differ with us in politics, because this man is of the politics they are, are going to decide, without reference to the facts and without reference to the law, the judgment of this court-martial should be reconsidered, set aside, and this man be put back in the army? There is no other ground on which you can do it. It is a prejudice against the court, against the parties at the time, and nothing else. I hope that does not exist; I hope that will not exist any longer. It should not.

“I do not think it comes with the best grace for men who tried their own disobedient officers in their own way to use their power and influence to restore officers whom we dismissed from our service in the army in order to disgrace the courts which convicted them and the President who signed the warrants. I do not think it is policy for men to come here and undertake to reverse that which was done according to fact and according to law. Let those men who were derelict in duty on our side, whom we dealt with, go. They are of no service to you and none to us. They are of no more service to the country. They may serve themselves, but no one else.

“With the views I entertain concerning this case believing as I do, that this man disobeyed lawful orders; that he disobeyed those orders without reference to the effect it would

have upon the people of the United States; that he did it for the purpose of having Pope relieved and some one else put in his place who would be more congenial to him [Porter]—believing as I do, that this man out of his prejudice against McDowell urged Patterson not to fight Johnston, which lost the first battle of Bull Run; that he refused to obey the first order he received from Pope to move to the field, refused to obey both orders that he received to rush forward and attack—believing all these facts to be completely proven by the evidence, and knowing the law to be what it is, authorizing the court to inflict the penalty of death, and when they inflicted the milder penalty—believing that they let this man off with a much less penalty than would have been adjudged had he been tried by a court-martial in any foreign country—with all these facts before me, with the knowledge I had of the generosity of President Lincoln, with the knowledge I had of the big-heartedness of General Garfield, with the knowledge I had of General Hunter, with the knowledge I had of the other officers who sat upon the court-martial, before I would give a vote to restore this man to the army and let him live the balance of his days on the bounty of the tax-payers of this country, I would go across the Potomac River and kneel down by that tomb on which is inscribed: ‘Here sleep the unknown dead;’ I would go among those little white head-stones that mark the place where those boys sleep who fell on the battle-field of Groveton on the 29th of August, and I would there in the presence of those whitening bones on my knees pray to Almighty God to forgive me for the wrong that I am about to do to the dead who have gone, and the wrong

I am about to inflict on this country, on the law, and on the facts by the restoration of this man to his place as an officer of the army. Sir, I would stand in the rays of the majestic king of day and appeal to the sainted spirit of Abraham Lincoln, who has gone before us, and say: 'Inasmuch as in examining this case you thought this man was guilty and signed the order, and when he appealed to you again on the re-examination of this case you declined to take any action in it, before giving this vote for his restoration to the army I appeal to you to take my hand and help me through this trouble and forgive me for perpetrating the wrong against your good name.'

"Sir, I would turn again and recount the wrongs that have been tried to be perpetrated on the life and character of Garfield in reference to his views on this question. I would turn to him in his silent tomb, and say: 'While you were in life and health and sound in judgment, you gave this verdict, and by a re-examination of the whole record you prepared yourself again to defend that which you had done, but, I, on account of the pressure, on account of what has been said by certain military men, am going out to do this great wrong for their sake. They are living, you are dead. O kind and generous spirit, forgive me that in my weakness I do your judgment, your conscience, and fair name a great wrong.'"

Under date of February 12, 1861, the leading newspapers of South Carolina, the *Charleston Courier*, premised as follows: "The South *might*, after uniting with the new Confederacy, treat the disorganized and demoralized Northern

States as *insurgents*, and deny them recognition. But if peaceful division ensues, the South, after taking the Federal Capital and being recognized by all foreign powers as the government *de facto*, can, if they see proper, recognize the Northern Confederacy, or confederacies, and enter into treaty stipulations with them. Were this not done, it would be difficult for the Northern States to take a place among the nations, and their flag would not be respected or recognized."

This was not only a fair echo of Southern sentiment, but substantially the expression of a very considerable faction at the North. It was the out-growth of such expression that cost our government \$3,000,000,000 of treasure and a million precious lives to suppress. It was the menace thus thrown out and practically acted upon that aroused the patriotic fervor of the North, and incited her millions to go forth and conquer the rebellion. Previous to the war, it was genuine belief that such threat could be easily realized which struck down a Senator at his post of duty by the murderous bludgeon of slavery. During the war, it was the same belief which burned at the stake and hung innocent men, women and children; that bayoneted helpless boys, fainting and dying upon the battle-field; that shot unarmed prisoners; that called to the aid of "the cause" the rifle, club, and scalping-knife of the savage; that made trinkets of the bones and drinking cups of the skulls of patriots; that burned and froze and starved to death sixty thousand of our noble young men who were helpless in the hands of traitors. And it was the same spirit which at the close of the war assassinated the good President, who had toiled through four years of calamity to restore the integrity of the Union!

It is not strange that a man of Logan's perception discovered the nature of this hydra at the beginning, nor that he fought it with all his might to the end. His patriotic impulse was well sustained by a lion heart and a knowledge of war gained through experience, and it is conceded that the services he performed in the field were never excelled by a general with corresponding opportunities. Upon this point the evidence is overwhelming. Incidents are plentiful. He was always anxious to lead his men in person, and did so at every opportunity. At the siege of Vicksburg his division were ready to follow wherever he led, and their spirit and dash became a proverb. On one occasion he charged forward and back through a greatly superior force of the enemy several times, and finally drove them helter-skelter into their entrenchments with great loss, while his command suffered but few casualties. It was in one of the engagements before Atlanta where his intrepidity and address were most grandly distinguished. Chivalric courage, great skill and wonderful coolness had carried him through a variety of emergencies and attracted the attention of rebel officers on many occasions, and it was resolved by Hood to put him to the extreme test at the first opportunity. Special preparations were made to overwhelm him, and the rebel commander at a seasonable time hurled upon his division an immense body of both infantry and cavalry. Logan was overmatched, at least three to one, and, like a prudent man, immediately called for help; but he stood upon the defensive only long enough to extend his lines and make ready for real work. Then he ordered a charge, which is described as one of the most remarkable movements.

The patriots assailed the foe with the greatest impetuosity, and gained a slight advantage. Then a hand-to-hand conflict ensued, the rebels fiercely contesting every foot of ground, but they very gradually retired toward their entrenchments. This mode of fighting lasted more than an hour, and during its entire continuance the tall form of Logan, mounted upon his strong and trusty steed, towered above all other moving objects, in the thickest of the fray, directing and encouraging his men and furnishing an example of the greatest endurance. Just as the desired reinforcements appeared in sight, Hood's squadrons were disappearing behind their shot-proof earth-works, and the Union general emerged from the smoke and dust of conflict covered with blood and powder stains just in time to dismount before his faithful horse fell in death, from twenty horrible wounds. A few minutes afterward the rebels sent up a great huzza, which was first thought to be the signal for another sortie; but, as was afterwards learned from prisoners, it was in hearty recognition of the Union leader's bravery!

A performance like this reminds one of Marshal Murat on Mount Tabor. With a force of only five thousand he found himself hemmed in by thirty thousand Turks. Fifteen thousand cavalry came thundering down upon this brigade, which was drawn up in form of a square. For hours they maintained the unequal combat, when Napoleon arrived with succor on a neighboring hill. The shot of a solitary twelve-pounder announced to his exhausted countrymen that relief was at hand. Then they assumed the offensive and immediately charged bayonet. Nothing was visible but a mass of turbaned heads and flashing cimeters,

except in the center, where was seen a single white plume tossing like a rent banner over the throng. For awhile the battle thickened where it stooped and rose as Murat's war steed reared and plunged amid the saber-strokes that fell like lightning on every side, and then the multitude surged back as a single rider burst through, covered with his own blood and that of his foes, the arm that grasped his dripping sword red to the shoulder. Murat's eye seemed to burn with four-fold luster, and with a shout which those who surrounded him never forgot to their latest day, he wheeled his exhausted stallion on the foe, and at the head of a body of his own cavalry, trampled every thing down that opposed his progress. In view of this feat a cheer ascended from the entire field, from friend and foe alike, which seemed to resound from the empyreal heights, "and the red field was won." Bravery is recognized and honored by every nationality and under every sun, no matter by whom exercised or under what circumstances proved.

Logan's self-composure in battle was the wonder and admiration of his men. Surrounded by the most appalling dangers, under the fire of terrific batteries, while balls were whistling in an incessant shower around his head, he sat upon his steed and eyed every discharge with a coolness wholly indescribable. A lofty feeling in the hour of peril bore him above all fear, and through clouds of smoke and the roar of a hundred cannons he would detect at a glance the weak point of the enemy. These are the qualities necessary for successful warfare in the field, and in civil life they have proved of no little value to Logan, the brave Representative and irreproachable Senator.

PART II.

HISTORY OF POLITICAL PARTIES

— IN THE —

UNITED STATES.

BY HON. LEONARD BARNEY.

Southey tells us how the political equilibrium is preserved: "In age we dislike all change, as naturally as in youth we desire it. The youthful generation, in their ardor for improvement, and their love of novelty, strive to demolish what ought religiously to be preserved. The elders, in their caution and fear, endeavor to uphold what has become useless and even injurious. Thus, in the order of providence, we have both the necessary impulse and the needful check."

IN "Thoughts on Various Subjects," by Pope and Swift, a party is called "the madness of many for the gain of a few." This sentiment is true in England, where it originated, and true at times in all countries where parties divide the voting population into antagonistic sections. In our country, two parties are necessary, that one may hold in check the extravagances and encroaching tendencies of the other. Great differences of opinion actually existed among both public and private individuals at and immediately succeeding the formation of our government. They had no regard to the principles of freedom and legal equality, for these were recognized by all, but to the offices and powers of the Federal Government, the duration of terms of office, and the constitution and functions of the judiciary and the legislature.

A free government was then an untried experiment,

adopted with anxious hope and confided in with trembling. Its wisest framers did not fully comprehend its capacities; its whole mode of action was not yet fully determined, and cherished theories were for the first time to be reduced to practice. It was natural that in such a state of affairs different views of things should arise, even among the wise and patriotic. Nearly every man in and about the government had undergone the perils of war for freedom, and all were anxious to protect the great and dearly purchased boon for the benefit of those who should come after them. In a warmly contested law-suit, it is seldom that an intelligent jury of twelve honest men can agree upon a result, even after an undoubted basis of facts has been established by evidence. Much less could it be expected that uniformity of opinion would be attained in so serious a matter as that of the formation of a government for a vast country, embracing a multitude of details and providing for the exigency of a thousand unknown circumstances.

At first these differences divided the people widely, and, with some modifications for many years, into two distinct parties. They were so far parallel to the parties of the present day as to be, the one for, the other against, those elements of a general government which experience has shown are best suited to the condition and permanent interests of the people of our land. The party which at this day is called "Democratic," was even at that early date represented mostly by negatives. The leaders were invariably obstructionists, whom the modern Democracy are slow to acknowledge as their originals; yet they can not disown their ancestry. It is true, they are able to discover

quite a distinction between the managers of the old party and of the new, but it is not thought to be of a kind to which they attach value. It is this: the leaders of the troublesome minority in the early day were persistent in a certain line of policy. But now, after so many years of reasonable growth and prosperity, with the government as at first constituted practically unchanged, if professed statesmen are yet found supporting opinions that involve a practical opposition to some of its most important principles, what remains but to consider them incapable as they are vacillating.

The earliest division of the people was occasioned by the primitive attempts to form a confederacy of the States, and subsequently upon the question of adopting the Constitution, so anxiously and wisely framed. Discussions in the several States were protracted and earnest. The friends of the Constitution, with Washington at their head, were called Federalists; the enemies of the Constitution, anti-Federalists. The "Anti's" were the shouters for State rights. But the Constitution once adopted and acquiesced in, the questions which had arisen were rapidly lost sight of; and the latter designation becoming odious, it was readily exchanged for the more popular name of Republicans.

With the election of Jefferson, in 1800, power passed away from the hands of the Federalists; the old controverted points were forgotten for the time; new and exciting questions, as the impressment of seamen, the embargo, and various foreign relations, followed, engrossing the public mind and essentially changing the character and position of parties. Finally the war of 1812 ensued, which, however it may have been regarded in its origin, eventually created, for

the most part, a community of sentiment throughout the country; and at the close of Madison's administration, all previous party distinctions were effectually obliterated. We state only the results and facts which are fully established by contemporaneous history.

Mr. Monroe entered upon his office by a nearly unanimous choice of the people. The Republican party of the preceding period, known as such, had placed itself upon the important practical questions of the day rather than upon any exclusive claims to democracy—certainly none such as are now put forth. Sometimes, it is true, an alarm was even then occasionally sounded by the demagogue about “aristocratic tendencies” with which opponents were charged; but they had not made, as now, a popular title the battle-cry of the party—their first, their last, their only argument. Great measures of foreign policy, almost wholly absorbing men's minds, had not permitted this game to be played. In consequence, moreover, of the termination of these questions, and the defeat of the Federalists with reference to them, that party ceased to exist as an opposition. During the whole of Mr. Monroe's administration they gave a cordial support to the government and became merged with their former antagonists into a united people, wearied with political strife and disposed to take a calm review of former contests.

It was, in truth, the “Era of Good Feeling.” Here and there were some of those small men who feel that at such times they have no chance to emerge from that obscurity for which nature designed them, who were endeavoring to maintain the old distinctions of names in local and State elections;

but their efforts received little countenance from the mass of the people. "The nation desired repose and a concentrated attention to those matters of internal improvement—we use the term in its largest and best sense—which had before to give way to the all-absorbing questions arising from our foreign relations; and upon those questions of national improvement there was at that time but little difference of opinion at the North or the South. Southern men had no doubt of the constitutionality and expediency of protecting our home industries. The North concurred in this sentiment, although at that time its ostensible interests were no more connected with the question than those of other sections of the Union. All felt the importance of a national currency, and there was scarcely a shadow of difference as to the means by which alone it could be secured.

Neither was the election of 1824 conducted upon party grounds. Local interests and personal predilections predominated. Adams, Clay, Crawford, and Jackson were the prominent candidates for the Presidency. They were all recognized as Republicans, and supported as such. Failing of an election by the people, the House of Representatives, under the provisions of the Constitution, elected Mr. Adams to the Chief Magistracy. In the contest between these several candidates, the members of the old Federal party were about equally divided. The Democratic party of to-day had not become organic at that period. All pretended affinities of a more ancient date are unsupported by fact, for it is certain that the old Republicans held few opinions which are entertained now by the modern Democracy. Most opinions of the old Republicans were entitled to respect.

While the country was enjoying this fortunate period of political amity an incident occurred which is worthy of more than ordinary notice. It illustrates how the most violent spirits had felt the composing influences to which we have alluded, and yielded to the general spirit of peace, of Unity and Nationality which pervaded the land. Some other conclusions may also be legitimately drawn. Gen. Jackson wrote a letter to President Monroe principally devoted to a celebration of the harmony between the two parties, and its delightful effects upon the returning prosperity of the country. He prayed for a continuance of this happy condition, and therefore advised the Chief Magistrate, as from his high standing in the regard of the Nation he had a perfect right to do, that then was the time to destroy forever the "monster party spirit"—that he, the President, should take all pains to promote so high and laudable an object, and that in furtherance of it he could not do better than compose his cabinet equally from the two great parties into which the country had been divided!

General Jackson thus took an attitude as a non-partisan, as a peace-maker, as an adviser of the appointment of Federalists to office. Although it is matter of solemn history, not many Democrats will believe it in this age. Better impeach the record than admit any thing so horrifying to and subversive of pure Democratic principles. But let us look a little ahead of the date of this letter, and carry our minds along the course of events some seven or eight years. Mr. Monroe's administration had been conducted on the noble, liberal, and most truly national principles embodied in General Jackson's advice, and it had passed away. His successor, Mr. Adams,

had maintained the same high ground, although tempted to depart from it by the most unprincipled attacks. His successor was General Jackson, and what did he when he found himself in a position where he might have readily and properly carried out the spirit of his advice to others? What did he?

Surprising as the fact may be, the warmest friend and the most determined foe of modern Democracy will agree alike, that since the establishment of the Constitution there has not been witnessed an administration in which so bitter a party proscription was carried on as in the reign of Andrew Jackson; no period in which the politicians plea was so unblushingly avowed, that to the victor belong the spoils. At no time have the waters of political strife been let out in such an overflowing torrent. A bitterness and savage fierceness unknown to former conflicts marked all the administration of this most willful man; and a more proscriptive party never ruled any age or time than that which had been studiously, designedly, and with the utmost care brought into being and fostered during that period which, according to the noble sentiment of Jackson's letter to Monroe, ought to have been the golden age of peace, of harmony, of freedom from party spirit, and united the public feeling in the promotion of every beneficent national work.

The great Jackson proved himself to be a time-server; a peddler of advice so superior to his practice that it might remind one of the old saying about the chief of the Plutonian realm quoting Scripture. Doubtless the general had been honest in his advice to Monroe. Men are always

so in the declaration of their abstract sentiments. The events which followed were not primarily his. There had been a strange genius working in another part of the Union, who, combining subtlety and talent, playing upon the ungovernable passions of the military chieftain, had so transformed the scene, and dissipated the fair prospect which the letter had given reason to anticipate. The general burnt his fingers while clawing the chestnuts out of the fire for some one else. A charge like this against Old Hickory has a strange look on paper, but it embodies one of the facts of history, and therefore, of course, is not set down in malice.

This genius in question was Martin Van Buren, who, during the close of Mr. Monroe's administration and the continuance of Mr. Adams's, had been acting the rôle of "the mousing politician" in the State of New York. As the saying is, "he was in a hole." The circumstances surrounding him were peculiar. A very great man then had possession of the gubernatorial chair of the Empire State. No one will deny this meed of praise to DeWitt Clinton. He felt the spirit of the times, and this, combined with the workings of his noble and clear-sighted intellect, led him to seek honorable fame in promoting the best interests of the country. Ambitious he was, but in the noblest sense, to take advantage of returning peace with a foreign nation, and renewed unity at home, in projecting and accomplishing that great scheme of internal improvement—the New York and Erie Canal—from which the country has since enjoyed such incalculable benefit. He completely overshadowed Van Buren. It was a shade from which he could find no way to emerge into the distinction he so ardently coveted, and which he felt himself unable to

obtain by any means requiring the qualifications of a lofty statesmanship.

But he resolved that Mr. Clinton must be supplanted. He was an obstacle bidding defiance to any competition to be waged upon high and honorable grounds. There were, too, at that time other great men intimately connected with great national interests, and most honorably known in their country's records. Not only Clinton and Adams, but that noble presence at the mention of which, even then, every heart in the nation warmed—the noble and disinterested statesman of Kentucky—once the Mill Boy of the Slashes, now Harry of the West. All stood uncovered before him. The remotest comparison between his high qualities and the mental patch-work of Van Buren would have been resented with indignation.

Clinton, however, was the special object of Van Buren's jealous rage, because the nearest, and therefore the most uncomfortable, impediment. The others were assailable in their order. Clinton must be supplanted. How? His antagonist had no resources in the field of exalted statesmanship. His name was connected with no services in the war which had just been brought to a conclusion. He had no plans of internal improvement for the benefit of generations yet unborn. He had no reputation in the world of letters and philosophy, like his accomplished rival. What then were his resources? They were of a kind corresponding with the dimensions of the man; and the humiliating recollection that they were successful is almost lost when we consider the tremendous consequences for evil with which the power that filched that success was invested.

Van Buren set himself to a task for which his abilities were nicely calculated. He found here and there some who, amid the general harmony, were unreconciled to civil service reform, and were mourning in obscure places over that obliteration of party names through which their own small hopes of distinction would be forever blotted out. He laid his schemes secretly with these congenial spirits, and soon they set themselves at the noble work—noble from the Democratic outlook—of stirring once more the dying embers of party strife. In the absence of all meritorious deeds, they hoped to rise into prominence by the revival of those old titles which Jackson had desired to consign to eternal oblivion. Unprincipled men were tempted by the hope of office, and weak men were found in sufficient numbers to form the *material* for the demagogue. Year after year the object was pursued with that pertinacity which is so often a trait of the smallest souls. These cullings from the political slums appropriated to themselves the title of Democrats, and it was under these exact conditions that the present Democratic party was formed. Their opponents, in contempt of the trick, silently permitted their success in the larceny of a name. As in all organizations, before and since this date, there were unprincipled men in the old Federal party, and they attached themselves to this new phoenix of Democracy—which had so little likeness to its alleged sire—and, as might be expected, became “Democrats” of the most rampant sort. In a word, the elements of party conflict were again revived with more than their ancient rancor.

Federalist was the name by which Mr. Clinton and his friends were designated, but for what reason no one could

tell. Among them were several of the most eminent members of the old Republican party. While Clinton, Clay, and Adams were projecting great schemes of general improvement, recommending national universities, national observatories, and various works of internal improvement; devising plans for a sound national currency; encouraging the efforts of the then dawning republics in South America; rendering secure the national credit; and in the use of all honorable means striving to give our government a national character, which, but for the subsequent dark days of Democratic repudiation, might have made us the envy of the world; while these true statesmen were thus employed, Mr. Van Buren and his co-conspirators were engaged in the sublime vocation of "rousing the Democracy," of exhuming the long-buried remains of old Federalism, and holding them up as a scarecrow for those of their clique who had too little intelligence to discern the miserable cheat. Then they were all national-bank men, all tariff men, all internal-improvement men, because a sound and wholesome popular sentiment upon these subjects pervaded the country, instead of that spurious *vox populi* which afterwards resulted from their own clamor and false pretenses, and which is the only species of domestic manufacture to which they were ever at heart favorable. But all these matters were held in reserve as subordinate to the other great matters in which they were so zealously employed—the getting up in some way the old party names; smirching, if possible, all who were opposed to them; adroitly taking to themselves the name of Democrat, and sticking to it through thick and thin as their organic declaration. Such was their policy then, and such it has continued

to be under the "Democratic" management of their successors.

The word "Democracy," in the insignificant application of the term we have described, elevated General Jackson to the executive chair. We state this as a fact of history, and with no desire to under-rate the successor of John Quincy Adams. Jackson possessed undoubted executive ability—by which we mean those great qualities which give to one an indisputable command over the many. Born upon American soil while this continent yet owned the sway of the House of Hanover, he enlisted as a soldier of liberty before the flush of manhood had deepened in his cheek. His growth was in a sparsely settled country, hardly to be distinguished from a wilderness, where the force of law, the restraints of society, or the rules of civilized life had but little weight. In such a situation self-preservation and self-protection are paramount to all other considerations. Self-instructed and with no one to render him assistance or make the opening pathway of life smooth to his steps—without fortune, friends, or adventitious aids—he acquired an independence of thought and action, a disdain of danger, and a contempt of opposition which followed him through all the vicissitudes of his career. Vigorous in action, energetic in the execution of his plans, ignorant of or despising alike the arts of the courtier and the nice distinctions of the casuist, he in early life acquired an influence in the border State of Tennessee which never deserted him while he had an ambitious wish to gratify or a personal desire to be fulfilled.

It was not because he was deemed a statesman that he

was nominated for the Presidency, in exclusion of other great men of the Republic. It was not because he was supposed to be possessed of any peculiar insight into the nature of our government, or of any intuitive appreciation of the duties of its chief executive, that the American people bestowed upon him their suffrages almost by acclamation. In accurate knowledge of the science of government and the details of legislation, Webster and Clay, Calhoun and Crawford, were immeasurably his superiors. His immediate predecessor was the most accomplished statesman of the day; profoundly learned in all branches of knowledge; versed in the history of his country; understanding practically all its varied and multiform interests. Thus endowed, however, for profound and wide-seeing statesmanship, and fitted to remain at the head of a great and growing Republic, with all its complicated interests and foreign relations; matured among the heroes of the era of Independence, and himself the son of a Revolutionary statesman, John Quincy Adams was, notwithstanding, put down by a whirlwind of clamor and abuse, of falsehood and detraction, such as had never before been witnessed in the political history of the nation; but which was afterwards matched in the moral assassination of Clay, and will be, if possible, outdone at any time the Democracy find the smallest pretense to malign a candidate who has been consistent in the support of a well-defined and aggressive policy.

General Jackson had other claims to popular homage. It was the glory of his military career which gave him this commanding prominence and secured the enthusiastic support of the people. He had performed signal service for

the country in its struggle with Great Britain; he had conducted our Indian wars with signal success; he had "assumed the responsibility" and invaded the territories of another nation without the sanction of his own government, captured its capital, imprisoned its governor, and dictated terms of peace with the assumed authority of a sovereign. How does that look for an aggressive foreign policy?

Right or wrong, he never hesitated in his movements; and as success invariably attended his undertakings, he gained credit for sagacity and wisdom. The shrewdness of a few politicians discovered in his character a combination of qualities that seemed requisite in a party leader. The new cry of "Democracy" was raised; and the self-commissioned invader of a foreign territory suddenly found himself the idol of an organization that was not over-scrupulous in its means of warfare or its choice of weapons. The event justified the accuracy of their calculations. The brilliancy of his deeds in the field; the sternness of his character; the obduracy of his will; the craftiness of his methods; and, it may not be out of place to add, his political obtuseness—all were reflected from his person through the long line of his partisans, and conspired to fill even the humblest with an ardor they were incapable of analyzing, but which they well understood presaged a party triumph.

As a citizen, the conduct of General Jackson had been equally distinguished by stirring events. Rough and tumble street fights, rencounters, duels, and all those customs which make border life exciting, in which rapidity of movement and personal courage are decisive, were the means chosen by him to settle private controversies; and these

were sufficiently frequent to claim a good deal of attention. As a legislator he had not distinguished himself, unless it may be in the characteristic threats to cut off the ears of an unlucky member of Congress who had ventured to inquire into the legality of his acts. He made no pretension to learning or scholarship of any kind. His education was wholly superficial, and barely enough to conduct him decently through life. Such are the outlines of the character and history of the man who was chosen to preside over a government of seventeen millions of people, as enlightened as any portion of the world.

The history of his administration forms a counterpart to his military career and his private life. He entered upon the discharge of the duties of his high office with an honest desire to serve his country faithfully and with the intention of observing strict justice and equity in regard to men and measures. But the affairs of a great nation and the diversified interests of a widely extended country could not be managed without many differences of opinion arising between the two great parties, nor, indeed, without creating serious dissensions in the dominant party itself. The plans and policy of the President did not by any means meet with universal favor, and at the first serious opposition his wrath was kindled. He could never forget nor forgive any one who placed an obstacle in his path from the conception to the accomplishment of a design. Regarding his own opinion as the law of the land, he looked upon every man who withstood his will as a villain. Bold measures, hastily conceived and entered upon with little apparent deliberation, were pertinaciously adhered to and crammed down the

throats of his partisans; not, however, without some grimaces and contortions of countenance. Obedience to the commands of the party had become a settled law; and as the party derived its vitality and strength from the character and energy of its chief, his simple word was in all controverted cases held paramount to the Constitution. In the matter of infallibility he was allowed precedence of all rulers, both temporal and spiritual. The voice of the people expressed through their chosen representatives was to him and his adherents as an idle mind. The behests of sovereign States conveyed through their senatorial guardians were equally ineffectual. At one time the Constitution was not broad enough to meet his purposes. He gave to its provisions an interpretation of such latitudinarian scope as to astonish a section even of his allies, and their anathemas, neither few nor indistinctly uttered, were hurled against him. At another time he was found to be so strict a constructionist as to refuse the exercise of those discretionary powers which, for great ends, have been wisely deposited in the executive.

It was expected, of course, that he would fill all the chief posts of trust with those friendly to his interests and holding similarity of views. Harmony in the government would require this, to say nothing of the policy and propriety of the course on other grounds. But the supreme dictator went far beyond this point. Acting upon the principle that the honors and emoluments of office were spoils to be awarded to the victors in the political arena, and treating all who were of another party as enemies to their country, he thrust out thousands of incumbents from the petty posts scattered from Maine to Georgia and from the

Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains. This was done irrespective of character, services, and situation, till there was scarcely a postmaster or petty tide-waiter in office who had not blown his penny trumpet in honor of the victorious chief, or lisped with becoming reverence and precision the shibboleth of "the party." Patriotism and love of place do not go hand in hand. If office be the sure reward of party fealty and devotion, hypocrisy and a contempt of the well-being of society will most surely follow. For this innovation in our political system, the country must render due thanks to General Jackson. That he was besieged by a host of applicants clamorous for benefactions, and often violated his own views of propriety to favor a friend, is no doubt true; but this does not lessen the evil nor diminish the responsibility of his acts. He was President of the Nation, and it is a sorrowful reflection indeed that he had not virtue enough to forget that he was chief of a party. It is vain to imagine what civil service reform might have done for such a man, in whose administration there was really so much room for improvement, for spoils became his prime end and aim before the first twelve months of his term had expired.

Some of his methods are worth studying for the lesson they inculcate. An enemy was at the head of one of the branches of the United States Bank. The President failed to influence his removal and procure the appointment of a friend. The managers of the bank did not consult him in regard to the provisions of the new charter applied for, and he had not succeeded in bringing that institution under his control. Impetuous in all things, defying all things, whether

of gods or men, this was an opposition to his imperial will by no means to be endured. He commenced, forthwith, a war of words and measures against that ill-starred corporation, in which he was backed by all the powers of the government, and aided by all the art of his shrewd advisers. They first destroyed the business of the bank, and threw discredit and suspicion upon its solvency, never before suspected. Then, by crippling the resources and business interests of the country, they weakened its securities and impeded the collection of its vast and extended claims, till, by a series of calamities and governmental hostilities beating upon it, the great fiscal institution of the country fell, and great was the fall thereof. In its ruins were crushed the fortunes of hundreds of innocent men, women, and children, of widows and orphans, whose entire means of subsistence were embarked in its immense capital. It had been chartered by President Madison, a good man and pure patriot; and it had been sustained by nearly all the Republicans of the day. It should be remembered that General Jackson himself did not then profess to be opposed in principle to a bank, but to *the* bank; for he expressly declared that if application had been made to him, he could have given Congress a plan for a National Bank which would have accomplished the desired end; and it would probably have contained a clause empowering the President to appoint all the managers and their subordinates. It was reserved to the "Democracy" of a later day to reach that sublimation of political wisdom which perceived certain ruin in a fiscal charter, Federalism in a paper dollar, and rank treason in an innocent bill of exchange. General Jackson was thought to

be something of a Democrat in his day, but he had not attained this degree of acute discrimination. He was strongly in favor of the State banks; fostered them by all the appliances in his power; induced the creation of scores, in place of one; and left the currency of the country in a condition of hopeless depreciation.

The destruction of the United States bank was really the principal *measure* of the Jackson administration. We may look in vain for any important principle settled by it, or any new theory brought forward, except in regard to the currency. In the management of our foreign interests, the honor of the country was protected, and our relations were generally maintained with dignity and caution. There was one notable instance of impropriety. We refer to the unwarrantable and uncalled-for introduction of our internal political divisions into his official correspondence with Great Britain by Mr. Van Buren, the Secretary of State. This was a proceeding without precedent, in every point of view indefensible, and a disgrace to its author. Whatever may be our internal dissensions, towards all other nations the American people should present an undivided front. National dignity and self-respect require the strict observance of this rule; the honor of the people demands it. With all his obstinacy and independence, General Jackson was easily controlled by a few designing men who had their own sinister ends in view. Van Buren, with his usual fallacy, had gained a commanding influence over the President, whose ungovernable passions were played upon in such a way that, while he thought himself the noblest Roman of them all, he became the mere tool of one of the subtlest of dema-

gogues; and it was soon apparent that a suggestion from that plausible gentleman was sufficient to gain for any new design a ready adoption by the supreme dictator. How skillfully that influence was exerted has now become matter of history. The little magician called spirits from the vasty deep that under better influences would have never seen the light. In the ranks of his own party, Van Buren had many enemies of no mean character and standing. They were all driven from executive favor with as much seeming zeal and alacrity as would have been exercised had they been open enemies of the republic. As no situation in life, no high degree of ability and attainment, is absolute proof against intrigue and cunning machination, Van Buren was soon left without a rival, either in the cabinet or in the ranks of the party. Calhoun was distanced in the race, and finally driven over to the opposition with great show of indignation and obloquy. One cabinet was dismissed without ceremony and on the most frivolous pretexts, and another was overawed and forced into submission. It *may* have been purely accidental, but it was a singular circumstance that in all these commotions and difficulties, while other gentlemen were discarded, outcast, overwhelmed, Van Buren was strengthening his position and gathering force to reach the station already long occupied in mind by his anticipative ambition.

It would seem that the last three years of General Jackson's term was almost wholly employed in preparing the way for the succession of the favorite. The President had time, however, to make fierce war upon the State banks—so long his favorites—which had sprung up virtually under his supervision. But he never made any pretension to con-

sistency. An exclusively metallic currency and a quick return to the age of iron had now become the desire of his heart, and with this measure bequeathed to his successor, his administration closed. He had come into power upon a wave of popularity whose reflux had buried many of his truest friends. The country had begun to groan under the weight of his measures; but the power of his name and his unscrupulous use of executive appliances were still sufficient to elevate Martin Van Buren to the Presidency.

The Whig party at that time confined its exertions principally to preserve the balance of power between the different branches of the government, as the Constitution had wisely left it. The concentration of all the powers of the government in the hands of one man was an innovation too dangerous to the safety of our institutions to be sanctioned or permitted. They also endeavored to protect the business interests of the country from the ruin which it was too truthfully predicted would follow the sudden and violent changes recommended by the executive. They desired to see the resources of the country developed, and to place the agricultural, mechanical, and manufacturing interests on such a basis as to defy the competition of foreign pauper labor and the hostility of foreign legislation.

We may dismiss General Jackson and his administration, with the remark that when the President was left to his own better judgment he acted honestly and uprightly. But passion and deep prejudices intervened; he was ill-advised and moved by insidious arts and practices; and we believe it not unjust to say that no chief magistrate ever left so bad an example to posterity. The country owes him a debt

of gratitude for his services in the field; and for these he will be remembered by the American people so long as the broad savannahs of the South expose their surface to the sun, or the waters of the Mississippi roll down to the gulf. We would not detract in the smallest degree from his just claims to respect, but there are points in his civil career which can not be passed without condemnation.

The advent of Mr. Van Buren did not at first materially change the situation of parties. He commenced with a formal declaration of principles at his inauguration. It was sufficiently void of meaning to be wholly unattractive except as to one point, and in regard to that he was peculiarly unfortunate. He undertook in advance to veto any law the National Legislature in its wisdom might enact upon a particular subject. The design of this was obvious, and its impropriety equally so. We speak of this without the least reference to the merits of that question, in itself considered, and merely as to the *threat* of the President in advance of legislative action. It conciliated no interest, and displeased if it did not disgust all right thinking men. That one so cautious in his general policy, and so uniformly careful to avoid all probable causes of discontent as Mr. Van Buren had been through his whole life, should have been guilty of a positive impropriety in the first step of his executive career, was matter of no little surprise. But his subsequent acts threw this circumstance so completely into the shade that it was soon forgotten by the general public. His whole administration exhibited a series of measures unfortunate beyond the examples; and they fell upon the people with crushing weight. These measures centered upon one

point—the currency—in regard to which he followed out the intentions of his “Illustrious Predecessor.” But the name of that I. P. had lost its charm. The time had gone by when a bad measure, although sealed with the imperial assent, could be forced into popularity. It was discovered, at last, that even his opinion was not infallible ; that his arbitrary dictum was not sufficient to regulate the laws of trade and the whole domestic policy of the country. The disorders of the time opened the eyes of intelligent men. They beheld in the vista, not that golden age which the prophets and seers of the spick new Democracy had predicted, nor that ineffable state which should betoken the advent of a social and political millenium ; but, instead, the confusion of ruin—the very “blackness of darkness” and all pervading distress.

The previous action of the government had called into being a multitude of local banks, and these institutions had been made the depositaries of the government treasure. Stimulated by this impulse, with a superabundant capital, no power in existence to keep them in check, and relying upon the continuance of government favor, these banks extended their business beyond all bounds of prudence. Speculation in every description of property had become universal ; villages and even cities had sprung up in every nook of the remote West, which needed only buildings, business, and people to render them discoverable by the unfortunate purchaser of lots ; and “intrinsic value” had become an obsolete term. This state of things had its origin partly in other causes, but mainly in the action of the government ; and by a more sudden action it was checked. The bubble

burst and carried with it not only the illusory hopes of the rash speculation, but the more solid basis of the prudent and circumspect. Commercial houses that had stood firm through all changes for half a century were crushed; the activity of business throughout the land was suspended; confidence and credit were destroyed; the banks, which had been fostered and then attacked by the government, suspended payment; State obligations were neglected, in some instances repudiated; and even the Federal Government could not always meet its engagements. It was at this juncture when Van Buren disclosed his great measure and made it the law of the land. The panacea which he recommended in this disordered state of the body politic was the sub-treasury system; and this was the principal measure of his administration.

The introduction of such a scheme in the most healthy and prosperous times would have produced, of necessity a disastrous revulsion; and it then added immeasurably to the public distress. The sole pretext for the measure was to protect the government from losses through the banks; the real design was to destroy every moneyed corporation in the land. It is a sufficient commentary to state that the government lost four times as much, in the space of three years, by the faithlessness and rascality of its sub-treasurers, as it had ever lost by all the banks since the adoption of the Constitution. The fallacy of the system was promptly shown. Speculation and corruption became at once the order of the day; nor was it long before the officer who had only abstracted his hundred thousand was looked upon as a tolerable pattern of sub-treasury trustworthiness. It is fitting to

remark that, in 1834, this same sub-treasury scheme was denounced by the whole Van Buren party as a measure unqualifiedly infamous; in 1837 he was equally denounced who was not in its favor—so much had the fresh Democracy become “enlightened” in the interval.

Mr. Van Buren very justly regarded himself as the founder of “the party,” and, in a large measure, its owner. It was certainly his by right of discovery; and now the time has rolled around when he regards his re-election of greater moment than the welfare of the States. This, however, was not to be. Public dissatisfaction was expressed in all forms, in every section of the country, and even “the party” was divided and rent. Partisan trammels could no longer prevent an honest expression, and thousands left the ranks of the “Democracy” and denounced the measures which had brought down destruction upon their heads. But the President still believed in the efficacy of party discipline. Possibly he thought, that as General Jackson—in whose footsteps he declared it was his highest ambition to follow—had succeeded in bold measures and radical innovations, he, too, might gain some laurels by a similar course. But events were otherwise ordered. The policy he had pursued left him no power except that which was inherent in the office he held. When the day of trial came, his appeal to the “sober second thought of the people” was answered by shouts of triumph and songs of rejoicing at the election of General Harrison.

We have presented the few prominent points which distinguished the administrations of Jackson and Van Buren, for the purpose of showing when and in what the Demo-

cratic party, so-called, had its origin, and the great precedents which authorize it to believe in one line of policy to-day, in another to-morrow, and, if it feels so disposed, in nothing but "the party" next day. Every thing has a character of some sort, but it is not always easy to discover. The trouble with the Democracy is, that a mere name, and falsely assumed, has been made a convenient, external, universal habit for "the party," covering all sorts of form and feature, or their total lack, as may be most acceptable for the occasion. There is no general character belonging to the organization throughout the country, expressed in a declaration of principles. It is everywhere traversed and broken asunder by sectional doctrines, or questions of policy wholly discordant. But all the members are "Democrats," and their explanation of the happy term—if they are able to give *any* explanation—is ever according to the locality in which they happen to be at the time.

It is scarcely necessary to mention the administration of John Tyler, unless to give a record of folly in all its phases; of treachery, perfidy, and imbecility unparalleled in history; of the dishonorable use of the highest power, and the wanton waste of the greatest opportunities. He had no party, no support, no principles, and none of the popular respect which the incumbent of the most eminent elective office in the world should elicit; and he was indeed very much like that man without a country who roamed aimless through the earth as a just penance for treason to his government. All there was of the Tyler faction is summed up in the most insignificant numeral, and was composed of the most insignificant figure that ever appeared in politics.

In 1844 the Whig party declared for a well-regulated currency; a tariff for revenue to defray the necessary expenses of the government, and discriminating with special reference to the protection of the domestic labor of the country; distribution of the proceeds of the sales of public lands among the States; reform of executive usurpations; and generally such an administration of the affairs of the country as should impart to every branch of the public service the greatest practicable efficiency, controlled by a well-regulated and nice economy. In the same year the Democracy favored State rights; opposed internal improvements; opposed a protective tariff; opposed a national bank; favored slavery, and denounced all abolitionists; favored the Van Buren sub-treasury system; favored taking by force, if need be, the whole of Oregon, and the re-annexation of Texas. In 1848 the Whigs declared against any extension of slave territory; against acquisition of foreign territory by conquest; in favor of protection to home industry, and the circumscription of executive power. In the same year the Democrats re-affirmed previous platforms (1840-44) and adopted fresh resolutions condemning "federalism"—which is not defined—a national bank, and the agitation of the slavery question; favoring "economy," the war with Mexico, and the administration of President Polk. There was little change in either the Whig or Democratic platform at the conventions of 1852, but in 1856 the Whigs made a strong protest against the agitation of the slavery question, and passed a special resolution condemning the Republican party; and the Democrats adopted what has ever since been known as "the Cincinnati Platform."

The Republican National Convention in 1856 resolved against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the extension of slavery into free territory; in favor of admitting Kansas as a free State, and of restoring the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson. They also favored the Pacific railway, and the improvement of rivers and harbors. It was an admirable platform; but it was left for the Republican resolutions of 1860 to make a clean sweep of the Whig and "American" parties, and either attach their members to the Republican organization, or drive them into the ranks of the Democracy. They protest against the admission of any but free States into the Union; against the dogma that the Constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into any or all the territories; against re-opening the African slave trade; in favor of protection to American industry, and internal improvement upon a liberal scale. The Democratic party held its national convention for 1860 in series—the first at Charleston, South Carolina, on 23d April; the second at Richmond, Virginia, 11th June; the third at Baltimore, Maryland, 18th June. The second, which was made up of Southern seceders from the first, anxiously awaited the action of the third, and upon the nomination of Douglas, at Baltimore, nominated Breckenridge and Lane, adopted a strong pro-slavery platform, and adjourned. The first plank in the platform was the re-affirmation of the Cincinnati resolutions.

James Buchanan, an intimidated old man, had been placed in the Presidential chair at the election of 1856, to do the bidding of the slave oligarchy, and was only President in name, while Toombs, Davis, Wigfall, Mason, Floyd,

Benjamin, etc., performed all the functions of the Presidential office which they deemed important, and conspired against the government at the same time. Buchanan's administration was only an intense illustration of the subserviency of Northern doughfaces to the slave power, whose incursions upon our political life had from year to year grown more exacting, until the demand had now come to legalize the African slave traffic by the laws of the United States, or accept the alternative of disunion! Senators of the United States, heads of departments, Representatives in Congress, officers of the army, and other agents of the government were in this conspiracy. D. L. Yulee, Senator from Florida, wrote to a traitorous convention at Tallahassee, under date of Washington, January 7, 1861, as follows:

. . . "It seemed to be the opinion, if we left here, force, loan, and volunteer bills might be passed, which would put Mr. Lincoln in immediate condition for hostilities; whereas, by remaining in our places till 4th of March, *it is thought we can keep Mr. Buchanan's hands tied*, and disable the Republicans from effecting any legislation which will strengthen the hands of the incoming administration."

So it seems that in January, 1861, through the complaisance of a Democratic administration, the government was already controlled by the Secessionists. It was no part of their original plan to divide the country into two separate nationalities, but to change the government over the whole of it; a revolution, not a secession, although "disunion" was the convenient threat. Viewed in this light, it was a cunning and well-devised plot; and it came very near a

temporary success. Viewed in any other light, the attempt was little short of insanity. Leaders in the rebellion were well aware that the Constitution could not be changed as they desired by peaceable means. They therefore determined to accomplish it by revolution. The commissioner from Mississippi to Maryland, when urging that State to join the rebellion, stated, in a speech to citizens of Baltimore, 19th December, 1860: "Secession is not intended to break up the present government, but to perpetuate it. We do not propose to go out by way of breaking up or destroying the Union, as our fathers gave it to us, but we go out for the purpose of getting further guaranties and security for our rights. Our plan is for the Southern States to withdraw from the Union at present, to allow amendments to the Constitution to be made, guaranteeing our just rights. This question of slavery must be settled, now or never. The country has been agitated seriously by it for the past twenty or thirty years. It has been a festering sore upon the body politic. Many remedies have failed, and we must try amputation to bring it to a healthy state." Amputation was certainly found effective, but it was not the sort contemplated by the gentleman.

It is no part of our intention or desire to excite sectional animosity by any thing contained in this chapter; but it seems to us that the logical result of the administrations of Jackson and Van Buren—by and through which the so-called Democratic party was founded—came to the surface in Buchanan's subserviency to the South and the following rebellion by the slave power. The cardinal principles of the Jackson-Van Buren party were indeed but two—iron-

clad support of "the regular nominations," and "to the victors belong the spoils of office." All measures of a positive kind, having in view the substantial interests of the country, were studiously avoided; because, upon such grounds, it was seen that the harmony of the heterogeneous elements of "the party" would be constantly endangered. There is something in positive measures which requires discussion; discussion produces thought; thought leads to inquiry. Hence, the Democracy must not think. Hence, the conduct of this faction, while it boasts so much of principle, and censures its opponents because, like independent men, they sometimes differ among themselves, has been ever negative and destructive. It opposes protection to home industry; but, lacking the courage of its convictions, dares not declare for free trade. In the days of Jackson it destroyed the national currency, and put "wild-cat" paper in its place; and in the early days of the war it attempted to discredit the greenback, without any thing to offer in its place, unless it was contemplated to substitute the plentiful "promises" of the Southern Confederacy. It denies to the central government all legitimate and healthy powers; but whenever it had the authority, it enormously increased the corrupt patronage of the government, thus tending ever to make it strong for evil and impotent for good. It has always looked with an evil eye upon the national judiciary, because its leaders have instinct enough, if not intelligence, to discern that there can be no friendship between itself and the spirit of constitutional law. At the same time, it professes that reverence for the Constitution is the prime article of its creed. It seeks to set the farmer against the manufacturer,

and the merchant against both. By its stupid cry of "aristocracy" it has sought to engender the most unnatural war between those natural allies, the rich and the poor. It pretends to be progressive, but opposes wholesome schemes of internal improvement; and, while professing a quality and degree of patriotism superior to that entertained by any other party, in either ancient or modern history, it forms an intimate coalition with those recently in arms against the government, and stakes all its hopes for success upon "a solid South."

This wonderful modern Democracy ought to be able to display itself in the light of truth. It is not a form of Democracy that Jefferson knew any thing about; with which the Clintons, the Madisons, the Crawfords, the Monroes, of former days, could have held communion. It is the Democracy of prostration, of repudiation, of nullification, of State bankruptcies, of squatter sovereignty, of anti-nationality, of secession, of draft riots, of hard money, of an irredeemable paper currency, of complicated and circumbendibus negatives. It delights in the dregs of all that was really objectionable in old Federalism, and execrates the memory of Alexander Hamilton, because he was educated beyond the ordinary rudiments of knowledge. When Frances Wright came upon her self-appointed mission to this country, "the party" discovered something in the ideas she advocated which it could heartily support, and therefore it hoisted the bespattered banner of free love, and found itself with one positive plank to offset a hundred negatives. Then the wildest notions respecting community of property and marriage, hostility to religion and to the bloated monopolies of

academies and colleges, took possession of the young Democracy and incited it to run riot over the ruins of churches, schools, and the established institutions of society. And in all this time, what had become of Mr. Van Buren?

By gradual progression, he had gone through all the several metamorphoses of Democrat to "barnburner," "barnburner" to free-soiler, free-soiler to abolitionist; and, in the very irony of fate, had thus finally become that thing which his party was born specially to extinguish! His ambition was still unquenched; but as he had always followed those schemes which seemed to promise a realization of his hopes, without regard to even an appearance of consistency, he evidently thought he saw in abolitionism a sentiment which would grow rapidly and eventually reseat him in the curule chair. After his defeat in 1840, which he doubtless thought would be followed by the utter disruption of his party, he was at a loss where to fix himself in order to regain his departed prestige. This was most likely the only reason why he left the young Democracy. He felt within him the small remains of that once happy state induced by a satisfied ambition, and longed heartily for a return of state and station. For his delinquency he forfeited his just fame, and now the foundation of "the party" is invariably ascribed to Jefferson by those who do not know better and by many that do.

Beyond the certainty that evil will follow, it is impossible to predict what the American people have to anticipate if modern Democracy shall again succeed to the government. If the country passes to the guidance of such an organization, it will at last be divided into factions, each pursuing its downward course with fatal celerity, seeking to crush in

its way all those institutions and laws which have given to the American Union its strength, freedom, and respectability.

At the beginning of the war, Senator Bayard was one of the Democratic leaders, and he is still recognized as such. He then spoke for his party in 1861 :

“Shall we make war upon and subjugate this new confederacy, or shall we peacefully treat with them and consent to their self-government, trusting to time, which is the great healer of all wrongs and passions, to bring them again voluntarily into a common government with us ?”

After drawing a picture of the horrors of civil war he asked :

“Is such a war necessary for the peace and happiness of the United States ? Why may not two American confederacies exist side by side without conflict, each emulating the other in the progress of civilization ? With such a sickening alternative as civil war, why should not the experiment at least be made ?”

Then Mr. Bayard proceeded to answer the questions which he had asked :

“I believe with the late Senator Douglas that a ‘war is disunion, certain, final, inevitable,’ and, so believing, I oppose it. I believe solemnly that the war inaugurated by Abraham Lincoln and his cabinet is worse than fruitless—that it will prove more disastrous to the North than to the South, and never will accomplish its professed object.”

A little later he said :

“Human governments were ordained for the happiness and protection of society. If peace will restore and secure these blessings to the people of the United States, even though a number of their former associates have gone off

under a new and independent organization, in the name of Heaven let us raise our voice for it!" And, in conclusion:

"Let us, fellow-men, follow peace as our bright north star, whose radiance may be mild, but never delusive or uncertain, while in the calamities of war, and that worst of wars, a civil war, we shall only reach by sheer exhaustion the peace we can now command in ten days by treaty."

Mr. Bayard should have quoted Senator Douglas's idea of the right of secession. "President Buchanan," said he, "has recommended that we purchase Cuba. According to this doctrine of secession, we might pay \$300,000,000 for Cuba, and then the next day Cuba might secede and re-annex herself to Spain!" We paid immense sums for a portion of the territory the secessionists proposed to take, and Mr. Douglas's illustrations came home to our people with peculiar force.

The history of the Republican party since 1860 is worthy of generous contemplation. Every work it has undertaken in twenty-four years has been performed; every promise made the people fully redeemed. It has given its best work, its best blood, and plenteously of its treasure to preserve the integrity of the Union. What further recommendation does it need? Is there in the world a nation that has so prospered in all the elements of wealth and greatness as has the United States under Republican administrations? And under what conditions did a Republican President take his seat in 1860? Modern Democracy, under Pierce and Buchanan, had then ruled the land for eight weary years. Schism and disorder were rampant, the principal departments of the government were in the hands

of its enemies, and war was imminent. Who, then, was responsible for these conditions? Upon whom does the odium of the war, the great debt, and the attempted dismemberment of the Union fall? It is no time to disguise facts, when the party that gave aid and comfort to those who were aiming a deadly blow at our institutions, again seeks to control the destinies of the government its cowardice and imbecility almost destroyed. Is there an American who does not appreciate the benefits and blessings of the Union? If so, he should be a member of "the party" toward which the principal criticism of this sketch is aimed; but let him cast his eyes across the sea and behold men fighting with their fellows for very crusts; let him review their unpaid labor in contrast with luxurious indolence; excesses of wealth and the direst poverty; pauperism in all its disgusting forms; taxes upon every thing, from the light of heaven to the furniture of the grave; and then let him return to his own country and reflect that within a century and under the Constitution formed by his fathers, it has grown great and prosperous; its population increased from three millions to fifty-five millions, and all well fed, and well paid, and equally protected by the laws. He will then no longer undervalue protection to home labor, or the importance of domestic peace and unity, but will nerve himself for every contest in which he can do service for the Constitution and the Union. We believe that the altar upon which the fire of Republican enthusiasm is kindled, is the altar of principle; that its flames are fed with the pure oil of patriotism, and the vestal guardians, liberty and law, keep holy watch over its embers. They shall never die!

THE TARIFF.

Shall it be a Protective Tariff, or a Tariff for Revenue Only?

A QUESTION ANSWERED BY HISTORY IN A TONE SO POSITIVE
THAT IT ADMITS BUT ONE INTERPRETATION.

“Let Labor have its due! my cot shall be
From chilling want and guilty murmurs free.
Let Labor have its due! then peace is mine,
And never, never shall my heart repine.”—BLOOMFIELD.

UPON the subject of the Tariff, facts are in better demand than theories, and reason is of more worth than assertion. So long as we have history to refer to, that is most desirable. Facts from the record can not be impeached. The history of Tariff legislation in the United States is an overwhelming vindication of what may be called the policy of Protection, while the reverse of this record, the history of free trade, presents some of the darkest and most deplorable chapters in the experience of the Nation.

The first assertion of the policy of Protection in the United States occurred in 1789. In March of that year, the first petition presented to the First Congress, before Washington's inauguration, came from the mechanics and other citizens of what was then the town of Baltimore, asking that Congress by imposing protective duties upon foreign manufactures, would make the country “independ-

dent in fact as well as in name." The citizens of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Charleston, and other cities presented petitions of like character. A bill introduced in the House of Representatives by James Madison embodied the views and wishes of the petitioners. It was passed, and on the fourth day of July, 1789, it received the signature of Washington, and became a law. It was our first Protective Tariff, and "it was the first act of general legislation passed under the new Constitution of the United States." This act settled the right as well as the expediency of import duties.

A few people at this date denounced the law as retaliatory. Perhaps it was, and with great justice if it was. Let us see what the facts were. While this country remained in a relation of colonial dependence upon Great Britain, it was a leading and openly avowed object of British policy to confine our people, so far as possible, to the production of what were called colonial staples—to the cutting of timber, mining ores, raising grain, curing pork, beef, etc., for the markets of the mother country, and forcing them to procure thence their supplies of all descriptions of manufacture. Even Lord Chatham, our friend in the great struggle against arbitrary power, declared that Americans should not be permitted to manufacture even a hob-nail!

Accordingly acts of Parliament were passed from time to time, from the moment a disposition to minister to their own wants was manifested by our people, to discourage and thwart that disposition. So early as 1699, only seventy-nine years after the landing of the Pilgrims—years in great part devoted to desperate conflicts with savage

nature, more savage men, and the wily and powerful civilized foeman on our northern frontier—the jealousy of England had been awakened by the progress of our household manufactures, and Parliament enacted that “no wool, yarn, or woollen manufactures of their American plantations shall be shipped thence, or even laden in order to be transported, upon any pretense whatever.” Not a great deal of British free trade in that enactment!

But they sought to draw the line still tighter. In 1719 the House of Commons declared that “the erecting of manufactories in the colonies *tends to lessen their dependence upon Great Britain.*” Complaints continued to be made to Parliament of the setting up of new trades and manufactures in the colonies, to the detriment of the trade of the mother country. Thereupon the House of Commons, in 1721, directed the board of trade to inquire and report “with respect to laws made, manufactures set up, or trade carried on, detrimental to the trade, navigation, or manufactures of Great Britain.” The board reported in February, 1722, and their report gives the best account now extant of the condition of our infant manufactures at that time. It informs Parliament that the government of Massachusetts Bay had lately passed an act to encourage the manufacture of paper, “which law interferes with the profit made by the British merchant on foreign paper sent thither.”

The board also reported that in all the colonies north of Delaware, and in Somerset County, Maryland, the people had acquired the habit of making coarse woollen and linen fabrics in their several families, for family use. This, it was suggested, could not well be prohibited, as the people

devoted to this manufacture that portion of time in winter when they could do nothing else. It was further stated that the higher price of labor in the colonies made the cost of producing cloths fifty per cent greater than in England, and would prevent any serious rivalry with the manufactures of the mother country. Still, the board urged that something should be done to divert the attention and enterprise of the colonists from manufactures; otherwise they might in time become formidable. To this end, they urged that new encouragement be held out to the production of naval stores. "However," say the board, "we find that certain trades are carried on, and manufactures set up, which are detrimental to the trade, navigation, and manufactures of Great Britain."

Answers from the royal governors of the several colonies to queries propounded to them by the board were next requested. They generally reported that few or no manufactures were carried on in their several jurisdictions, and these few were of a rude, coarse kind. In New England, leather was made, a little poor iron, and a considerable aggregate of cloths for domestic use; but the great part of the clothing of the people was imported from Great Britain. The hatters of London complained that a good many hats were made in America, especially in New York. The board summed up the report as follows:

"From the foregoing statement it is observable that there are more trades carried on and manufactures set up in the provinces on the continent of America, to the northward of Virginia, prejudicial to the trade and manufactures of Great Britain, particularly in New England, than in any

other of the British colonies; which is not to be wondered at, for their soil, climate, and produce being pretty nearly the same with ours, they have no staple commodities of their own growth to exchange for our manufactures, which puts them under great necessity, as well as under great temptation, for providing for themselves at home; to which may be added, in the charter governments the little dependence they have on the mother country, and consequently the small restraint they are under in any matters detrimental to her interests." The report closes by repeating the recommendation that measures be taken to turn the industry of the colonies into new channels serviceable to Great Britain.

Parliament proceeded to act upon these suggestions. That year (1732) an act was passed "to prevent the exportation of hats out of any of his majesty's colonies or plantations in America, and to restrain the number of apprentices taken by the hat makers in the said colonies, and for the better encouraging the making of hats in Great Britain." By this act, not only was the exportation of colonial hats to a foreign port prohibited, but their transportation from one British plantation to another was prohibited, under severe penalties; and no person was allowed to make hats who had not served an apprenticeship for seven years; nor could any hatter in the colonies have more than two apprentices at any one time; and no black or negro was permitted to work at the business of making hats.

The interdiction of hats proved only the prologue of the great drama. The manufacture of iron soon came in for a share of the paternal regard of Parliament. In 1750 that

maternal authority permitted pig-iron and bar-iron to be exported to England duty free, but prohibited the erection of any mill or other engine for slitting, or rolling iron, or any plating forge to work with a tilt-hammer, or any furnace for making steel in the colonies, under the penalty of two hundred pounds. And any such mill, engine, forge, or furnace was declared a common nuisance, and the governor of the colony, upon the information of two witnesses on oath, was ordered to cause the same to be abated within thirty days, or to forfeit the sum of five hundred pounds. Such was the spirit, such were the exactions, of British legislation while our patriot fathers remained subject to the mother country.

The consequences of this state of enforced and abject dependence upon Great Britain for the great mass of our fabrics were such as have been many times realized in the history of commerce. Although allowed a nearer approach to fair trade with the mother country than she has ever vouchsafed us since our independence, the colonies were never able to sell enough raw produce to England to pay for the manufactures with which she was constantly flooding them. Our people had cleared much land, built houses, and provided every thing essential to physical comfort, but the course of buying more than their exports would pay for could not be evaded. In the midst of outward prosperity, the colonies groaned under an increasing load of debts, which were constantly effecting the transfer of American property to owners in Great Britain. It was the persistent charge of the English that our revolutionary fathers flew to arms to evade the payment of their mercantile debts and

the importunities of their creditors. The Congress which assembled in 1765 to remonstrate against the Stamp Act, drew a graphic though sad picture of the calamities which had befallen the people; the multiplication of debts, the disappearance of money, the impossibility of payment, the stagnation of industry and business, all through the excessive influx of foreign fabrics.

The war of the Revolution corrected this tendency by cutting off importations and largely increasing our own household manufactures. But peace, in the absence of all protective legislation by this country, revived the mischief which had been trampled beneath the heel of war. The struggle for independence had left all the States embarrassed, trade completely disordered, and the whole country overwhelmed with worthless paper money. The unchecked importation of foreign fabrics still further multiplied and magnified debts, deprived us of our specie, broke down the prices of our products, and created a general stagnation and distress. From the state of desperation thus engendered, arose the disgraceful outbreak of insurrection in Massachusetts, known as "Shay's Rebellion." This was but one symptom of a general disease.

Attempts were repeatedly made to put an end to this condition of things by imposing duties upon imports. But the Congress of the old Confederation had no power to do this, except with the concurrence of each of the State governments. This could not be obtained. Rhode Island, then almost wholly a commercial State, objected, although the duty imposed was but five per cent, and the object the payment of debts incurred in the Revolution. Here was pre-

sented that stringent necessity which alone could have overcome the prevailing jealousies of, and aversion to, a stronger and more National Government. A convention was called, a Constitution framed and adopted, and the second act of the new Congress stands upon the records entitled, "An act to make provision for the necessities of government, the payment of the national debt, *and the protection of American manufactures.*" It passed both Houses of Congress by substantially a unanimous vote.

Great Britain now became alarmed for the stability of her market in America. Our people had been among her most profitable customers. Her board of trade made a report on the subject, in 1794, urging the negotiation of a commercial treaty with the United States, based upon two propositions, the first being that "the duties on British manufactures imported into the United States shall not be raised above what they are at present." The second proposed that the productions of other nations should be admitted into our ports in British vessels the same as if imported in our own. But the English government did not venture to press these propositions.

It was plainly discerned by the British economists of that day that, while our Congress had explicitly asserted the principle of protection, and had intended to act consistently with that principle, yet from inexperience and a natural hesitation to change abruptly the direction which circumstances had given to our national industry, they had fallen far short of this. The few articles of manufacture already produced in this country, to a considerable extent, were in general efficiently protected; but the greater por-

tion of the manufactures essential to our complete emancipation from colonial dependence, were left unprotected to the extent of five to fifteen per cent. Years of hard experience and of frequent suffering were required to teach the mass of our statesmen the advantage and benefit of extending protection also to these articles which had not been but might easily and profitably be produced in our own country, if the producers were properly shielded from the destructive rivalry always brought to bear upon a new branch of industry by the jealous and powerful foreign interests which it threatens to deprive of a lucrative market. Our people had scarcely begun to learn the truths which form the basis of a wise and beneficent national economy, when the breaking out of the great wars in Europe opened up to them large and lucrative foreign markets for raw staples, and the heads of many of the most sedate thinkers in America were nearly turned by the tempting prizes proffered to mercantile enterprise by the convulsions of the Old World. It seemed as though we had but to produce what was easiest and most natural to us, and Europe would take it at our own price, and pay us bountifully for carrying it where she directed.

This was a pleasant dream while it lasted, but it was very brief. Our people were awakened from it by seizures, confiscations, embargoes, and, at last, war, which imposed upon us the necessity of commencing nearly every branch of manufacture under the most unfavorable auspices, and of course at a ruinous cost. The war with Great Britain was in this respect a substantial benefit to the country. England had continued to send us, up to the beginning of this war, large supplies of manufactured goods, which were

thrown upon the American market at prices less than the same articles were sold for at London or Liverpool, *all the profit sacrificed to the object of repressing and breaking down our rising industries.* With the doubling of duties at the beginning of the war of 1812, and the extraordinary exigencies of the country, our home interests were greatly stimulated, and in the succeeding three years grew vigorously, many new industries springing up. "The arrival of peace found the country," says Mr. Greeley, in his *Political Economy*, "dotted with furnaces and manufactories, which had suddenly grown up, during the few last preceding years, under the precarious shelter of embargo and war. These, not yet fairly established in a country whose commerce was almost entirely external, or confined to the seaboard, steam navigation being yet in its infancy, and canals and railroads unknown among us, found themselves suddenly exposed to a determined and resistless competition from abroad." To meet this condition, the tariff act of 1816, chiefly the work of John C. Calhoun, then a protectionist, and William Loundes, was devised. But it proved wholly inadequate, except as to two or three comparatively unimportant industries.

Great Britain continued to flood the American markets with the products of her manufactories, at prices with which our home manufacturers found it impossible to compete, and one by one, in rapid succession, American manufacturing establishments were closed, and products of American skill disappeared from the markets. All the devastations of the war had been as nothing compared with the devastation and losses of manufacturing capital under the tariff of 1816.

Our manufacturers went down like grass before the mower; our agriculture and the wages of labor speedily followed. In New England it is judged that fully one-fourth the property went through the sheriff's mill, and the prostration was scarcely less general in any part of the country. More American families were reduced from comfort to want in the years 1817-20, than in the succeeding half century. These facts illustrate with great force the disastrous effects of that sort of tariff legislation which is now demanded by a considerable faction under the specious title of "a tariff for revenue only." Under such a tariff from 1816 to 1823, a few unimportant industries barely escaped the assaults of foreign competition, but these trifling exceptions were not sufficient to relieve that period of its memorable character as the most disastrous in the early history of the country, a period referred to in 1832 by Henry Clay as without a parallel since the formation of the government in its exhibition of "wide-spread dismay and desolation." But the germ of industrial independence had been planted in a soil fertilized by blood, and the plant was destined to live and flourish, though exposed to rude blasts and chilling frosts in its spring-time.

The tariffs of 1824-28 marked a period of seven years in striking contrast with the term of the same length which had just preceded. Never were the comparative merits of two antagonistic policies more fully and decisively illustrated. The energies of the country were re-vitalized, the spirit of enterprise again walked abroad in the land, capital sought labor and labor responded to the appeal, and in their union and mutual efforts each won honorable and just re-

ward. The Nation grew in wealth, and everywhere the people were prosperous, tranquil, and happy. At the very height of this grand fruition and splendid promise came the compromise tariff of 1833, with its provisions for a gradual reduction of duties on manufactures to a revenue standard. Business revulsion and the financial disaster of 1837 followed. Our manufacturers were driven to the wall and many of them hopelessly bankrupted. There are hundreds living to-day and in active business, who still vividly remember the unhappy era from 1835 to 1842, with that desolating year of 1837 standing like a great, black, appalling chasm in a wilderness of wreck and ruin. This compromise measure, this tariff for revenue only, bore its legitimate fruit in the final collapse alike of industry and revenue, and the despoiled and suffering country again turned to protection for the restoration of its crushed and shattered industries.

It would seem that experience and observation are of little use if we fail to regulate our conduct by them. The spirit of the same policy which the British government pursued toward this country while in its dependent colonial state, still enters into the favorite measures of that government toward the United States. It would be no difficult matter to show that upon every agitation of the question of protection in Congress, the British Parliament or its Board of Trade has taken some action in order to distract, if possible, the attention of our statesmen, and to induce among our people an opposition to any measure which would establish protection to industry as the settled policy of the Nation. The Parliament even carried this sort of intermeddling so far, that in May, 1840—a time when the whole

people of this country were thoroughly waking up to the importance of the home system—they raised a select committee in the House of Commons to inquire whether the duties levied by the British tariff “are for protection to similar articles” manufactured in that country, or “for the purposes of revenue only.” This select committee, in their report of August 6, 1840, appear to have lost sight of the principal object apparent upon the face of the resolution authorizing their examination and report, and content themselves by observing that the English tariff “often aims at incompatible ends;” the duties are sometimes meant to be both productive of revenue and for protective objects. But they stated that they had discovered “*a growing conviction that the protective system is not, on the whole, beneficial to the protected manufactures themselves.*” Upon the same hypothesis which enabled them to arrive at this conclusion, they might find that, upon the whole, health could not be made beneficial to a sick man!

After such a discovery and its solemn announcement by the select committee aforesaid, it might reasonably be imagined that some steps would be taken towards rectifying that “incompatibility” in the British policy, and in abandoning that system which they represent as having been found not to be beneficial to their protected manufactures. But if we expect any such thing from that quarter, we reckon without our host. Mr. Bull is sly—sly as Joey Bagstock. That report was grown and ripened for the American market, and was not designed for any real effect upon the proceedings of the House of Commons. It was intended to convince the American Congress and the Ameri-

can people that Great Britain was almost ruined by her protective system—a system of ruin which she adhered to with astonishing pertinacity; that our protective tariff would in like manner prove ruinous to us; and that our only salvation was in adopting free trade at once; opening our ports to all British manufactures, and becoming, in fact, merely a market for British labor.

Finding that their recommendations had no effect upon the measures of our government, they ceased to be careful of the principles they put forth to the world, and seeing no longer any good reason for disguise, leading men in both houses of Parliament soon afforded us a fine commentary upon the text of that report of the select committee. Among others, the Duke of Wellington, with the frankness of his known character, stated in the House of Peers the true policy of Great Britain, that “when free trade was talked of as existing in England, it was an absurdity. There was no such thing, and there could be no such thing as free trade in that country. We proceed,” said he, “on the system of protecting our own manufactures and our own commerce—the produce of our labor and our soil; of protecting them for exportation and protecting them for home consumption; and on that universal system of protection it is absurd to talk of free trade.”

Under the tariff of 1842, business experienced a revival which continued during four years, and the country was comparatively prosperous; but scarcely had the wounds of preceding disaster healed over, when the act of 1846, reducing duties—enacted through the treachery of President Polk and his Secretary of the Treasury, Robert J.

Walker—stepped in to reverse the wheels and start the industries of the country upon another retrograde march. In 1857, under the administration of President Buchanan, Congress again legislated in the further interest of foreign manufacturers, and the prompt response to this aggravation of folly was the financial crash of that year, predicted by the advocates of protection as an inevitable consequence of the abandonment by Congress of the industrial interests it is their duty to nourish. Four years prolific of evil to the material interests of our people were 1857, 1858, 1859, 1860. Never before was the investment of capital in business less profitable, nor the wages of toil more meager. For near fourteen years we have tested a tariff for revenue only, and most expensive and bitter was the price the country paid for the experiment. Utter and universal bankruptcy, both public and private, would have been our doom had we not returned to the policy of protection. In 1861 the Morrill tariff became a law, and it was the beginning of a series of protective enactments which are still in force. The Morrill bill was reported to the House in March, 1860, and passed that body in the following May. The work of improvement began in anticipation of its assured final adoption by Congress; so that when it passed the Senate in February, 1861, and received the approval of the President the current of the new industrial life had already been set in motion. No man at this day will assert that without this policy the country could have sustained its energies during the four years' desperate struggle, 1861 to 1865, or so speedily repaired the desolating effects of that contest after its close.

We may rest here with the reflection upon the preceding array of facts that it ought to be sufficient to convince any reasonable man of the inestimable value of a protective tariff to see the enormous progress of all our productive interests under its operation, and their rapid decline the moment it ceases to operate. Free trade advocates always seek to evade this argument by attributing our prosperity to other causes, but they only use the subterfuges of the pettifogger. They suppose we forget that the protective system was in operation in England for more than three hundred years, and it was mainly to the success of that system that British industries were indebted for the gigantic strength which finally enabled them to endure the order of comparative free trade. The same system is now building up the vast internal resources of Russia, and rendering the French Republic impregnably strong by reliance upon her own internal development. What protection has thus done for the industries of Europe, it is now doing for the industries of our own country. The question, therefore, is, whether we shall have a tariff so governed and regulated as to foster, encourage, and stimulate American production of all kinds, or a tariff so adjusted as to protect foreign manufacturers against the competition of American capital, labor, skill, and enterprise?



LADY WASHINGTON'S RECEPTION.

LIVES OF THE PRESIDENTS.

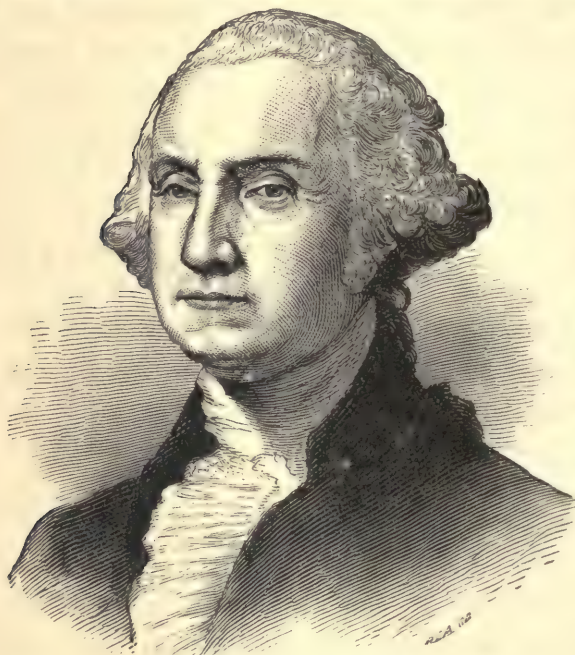
GEORGE WASHINGTON.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, first President of the United States, was born in Westmoreland Co., Va., Feb. 22, 1732. He was the eldest of six children of Augustine and Mary Washington, wealthy people for the time, who traced the Washingtons from the early days of the Plantagenets, when the De Wessyngtons did manorial service in the battle and the chase for the military bishop of Durham. George enjoyed slight educational advantages. When he lost his father, in 1743, the good woman whose name will always be associated with that of her distinguished son as "Mary, the mother of Washington," took charge of his mental training, and laid the solid foundation of his future usefulness. All the school instruction he received was complete before he arrived at the age of sixteen.

But he learned surveying, military tactics, and other useful branches of knowledge of whatever he essayed in a masterly way. He served for a short period as a midshipman in the British navy, and soon thereafter entered the military service of the Colonies.

In 1750 rumors of imminent French and Indian aggressions on the frontier began to engage attention, and preparations were made to resist the threatened attack. In 1751,

when he was but nineteen, Washington was placed in charge of a military district, with the rank of major. In 1753, affairs on the frontier having become pressing, Governor Dinwiddie selected him to bear a message to the French commander, on the Ohio, remonstrating against the advancing



GEORGE WASHINGTON.

ing occupation of the territory. This service was full of danger, but it was performed with intrepidity and address. Thereby he brought from the Frenchman confirmed the growing impressions of the design of the enemy, and military preparations were made

with spirit. A Virginia regiment of three hundred men was raised for frontier service, and Washington appointed its lieutenant-colonel. Advancing with a portion of the command, he found that the French were in the field, and that hostilities had actually begun. Watchful of their movements, he fell in with a detachment under Jumonville, which he put to flight, with the death of their leader. His supe-

rior officer having died on the march, the entire command now fell upon Washington, who was soon joined by additional troops from South Carolina and New York. With these he was on his way to attack Fort Du Quesne, when word was brought of a very superior force of French and Indians coming against him. This led him, in his unprepared condition, to retrace his steps to Fort Necessity, at the Great Meadows, where he received the attack. The fort was gallantly defended, both within and without, Washington commanding in front, and it was not until serious loss had been inflicted upon the assailants that it surrendered to superior numbers. In the capitulation, the garrison was allowed to return home with the honors of war.

We next find him upon the staff of General Braddock, who, in 1755, marched from Virginia against Fort Du Quesne with a force of royal troops and provincials. This army advanced without regard to the danger to be apprehended from the savages, and although Washington warned the general of the necessity for watchfulness, it did no good. When they were within ten miles of the fort, on the 9th of July, they were ambushed by the French and Indians, and routed with terrible slaughter. Braddock was mortally wounded, and died a few days later. In 1758 another expedition was planned to capture Fort Du Quesne, and this time it was successful. Washington with his Virginians traversed the ground whitened by the bones of his former comrades in Braddock's disastrous march, and with his entry of the fort closed the French dominion on the Ohio.

In January, 1759, Washington married Mrs. Martha Custis, of the White House, county of New Kent. This

lady, born in the same year with himself, and in the full bloom of youthful womanhood at twenty-seven, was the widow of a wealthy landed proprietor, whose death had occurred three years before. Her maiden name was Dandridge; she was of Welsh descent; and the prudence and gravity of her disposition eminently fitted her to be the wife of Washington. She was her husband's executrix, and managed the estates he left, involving the raising of crops and their sale in Europe, with ability. Her personal charms are greatly praised. The well-known portrait, by Woolaston, painted at this period, presents a neat, animated figure, with regular features, dark, chestnut hair, and hazel eyes, in a dress, which, the style having changed frequently in the interval, the whirligig of fashion restored a few years ago, and it is even now, 1884, considerably worn. The wedding was attended with great *éclat*, at the bride's estate at the White House, and the honeymoon was the inauguration of a new and pacific era of Washington's hitherto troubled military life.

But his state of repose proved the introduction to new public duties. He was elected a member of the House of Burgesses, and took his seat shortly after his marriage. Upon this occasion an incident occurred which has been frequently narrated. The Speaker, having been directed by a vote of the House to return thanks to him for his eminent military services, at once performed the duty with warmth and eloquence. Washington rose to reply, but became too embarrassed to utter a syllable. "Sit down, Mr. Washington," was the courteous expression of the gentleman who had addressed him; "your modesty equals your

valor, and that surpasses the power of any language I possess."

He continued a member of this House, diligently attending to its business till he was called to the work of the Revolution, in this way adding familiarity with the practical duties of a legislator and statesman to his experiences in war. He was constantly present at the debates, it having been a maxim with him through life, as his biographer, Mr. Sparks, observes, "to execute punctually and thoroughly every charge which he undertook."

Incidentally, some of the seeds of the Revolution were sown in the contest with France. There and then America became acquainted with her own powers, and learned to estimate the strength and weakness of British soldiers and placemen. To no one had the lesson been more thoroughly taught than to Washington. By no one was it studied with more attention. There was no faction in his opposition. The traditions of his family, his friends, the provinces, were all in favor of allegiance to the British Government. He had nothing in his composition of a disorganizing character, nothing in common with the mere political agitator, the breeder of discontent. The interests of his large landed estates, and a revenue dependent upon exports, bound him to the British nation. But there was one principle in his nature stronger in its influence than all these material ties—love of justice; and when Patrick Henry rose in the House of Burgesses with his eloquent assertion of the rights of the colony in the matter of taxation, Washington was there, and heartily responded to the sentiment.

To this memorable occasion, May 29, 1765, has been

referred the birth of that patriotic fervor in the mind of Washington, welcoming as it was developed a new order of things, which never rested till the liberties of the country were established upon the firm foundations of independence and civil order. From the beginning, he was an earnest supporter of the constitutional liberties of the country, and met every fresh aggression of Parliament as it arose in the most resolute manner. He took part in the local Virginia resolutions, and on the meeting of the first Congress in Philadelphia went up to that honored body with Patrick Henry and Edmund Pendleton.

The second Continental Congress, of which Washington was also a member, met at Philadelphia in May, 1775, its members gathering to deliberate with the musketry at Lexington ringing in their ears. The overtures of war by the British troops in Massachusetts had gathered a little provincial army about Boston. National organization was a measure no longer of choice, but of necessity. A commander-in-chief was to be appointed; and though the selection was not altogether free from local jealousies, the superior merit of Washington was seconded by the patriotism of Congress, and on June 15th he was unanimously elected to the high position. His modesty in accepting the office was as noticeable as his fitness for it. He was not the man to flinch from any duty because of the hazard; but it is worth knowing, that we may form a due estimate of his character, that he felt to the quick the full force of the sacrifices of ease and happiness he was making, and the new difficulties he was inevitably to encounter. He was so impressed with the probabilities of failure, and so little disposed to vaunt his own powers,

that he begged gentlemen of the House to remember, "lest some unlucky event should happen unfavorable to his reputation," that he thought himself, with the utmost sincerity, unequal to the command he was honored with. He declared his intention, with a manly spirit of patriotic independence worthy the highest eulogy, to keep an exact account of his public expenses, accept nothing more for his services—a resolution which was faithfully kept.

He took command of the army at Cambridge on the third of July. Bunker Hill had been fought, establishing the valor of the native militia, and the investment of Boston was already begun, though with inadequate forces. There was excellent individual material in the men, but every thing was yet to be done for their organization and equipment. Above all, there was absolute want of gunpowder. It was impossible to make any serious attempt upon the British, but the utmost heroism was shown in cutting off their resources and hemming them in. Humble as were these inefficient means in the present, the prospect of the future was darkened by the short enlistments of the army, which were made for only the year, Congress expecting in that time a favorable answer to their second petition to the king. The new recruits came in slowly, and means were feebly supplied, but Washington determined upon an attack. For this purpose he fortified Dorchester Height. The British made an attempt to dislodge him, which was interrupted by a storm; and General Howe, having already resolved to evacuate the city, a few days after ingloriously sailed away with his troops to Halifax. The next day, March 18, 1776, Washington entered the town in triumph. Thus ended the chapter of his Revo-

lutionary campaign. There had been little opportunity for brilliant action, but great difficulties had been overcome and substantial benefits gained.

New York was evidently to be the next point of attack by the British, and thither Washington gathered his forces and adopted every available means of defense on land. By the beginning of July, when the Declaration of Independence was received in camp, General Howe had made his appearance in the lower bay of New York, from Halifax, where he was speedily joined by his brother, Lord Howe, the admiral, who came with propositions for reconciliation. The substance of his overtures was incorporated in a letter addressed, "George Washington, Esq.," and sent by a messenger; but Washington, divining the nature of the communication, and knowing it ought to be addressed to him in his official capacity, if at all, declined to receive it. Another messenger was sent with the letter addressed to General Washington, but even the "General" would not have it. The British adjutant, however, verbally reported the contents of the epistle, to which Washington replied, that it related wholly to pardons, and the Americans, who had committed no offense, but stood only upon their rights, were in no need of clemency from the mother country. Thus terminated the interview.

Re-enforcements to the royal troops on Staten Island soon arrived from England. They made a landing on Long Island, and a battle was imminent. It occurred on the 27th of August, and was disastrous to the American arms. The slaughter was great. Still the main works occupied by the American troops at Brooklyn remained as they were,

though no longer tenable, exposed to the enemy's fleet. But the day after the battle, and the next, were passed without any decisive movements on the part of the British, who were about bringing up their ships, and who doubtless, as they had good reason, considered their prey secure. On the twenty-ninth, Washington took his measures for retreat, and so perfectly were they arranged that the whole force of nine thousand, with artillery, horses, and the entire equipage of war, were borne off that night, under cover of the fog, to the opposite shore in triumph. It was a most masterly maneuver, planned and superintended by Washington from the beginning. He did not sleep or rest after the battle till it was executed, and was among the last to cross.

After this followed in rapid succession, though with no undue haste, the abandonment of New York, the withdrawal of troops into Westchester, the affair at White Plains, the more serious loss of Fort Washington, and the retreat through the Jerseys. It was the darkest period of the war—the days of which Paine wrote in the opening number of his “Crisis:” “These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it now deserves the love and thanks of man and woman.”

After the battle of Long Island, there had been little but weariness and disaster in the movements of Washington to the end of the year, when, as the forces of Howe were apparently closing in upon him to open the route to Philadelphia, he turned in very despair, and by the brilliant affair

at Trenton retarded the motions of the enemy and checked the growing despondency of his countrymen. It was well-planned and courageously undertaken. Christmas night, of a most inclement season, when the river was blocked with ice, was chosen to cross the Delaware, and attack the British and Hessians on the opposite side. The expedition was led by Washington in person, who anxiously watched the slow process of transportation on the river, which lasted from sunset till near dawn—too long for the contemplated surprise by night. A storm of hail and snow now set in, as the general advanced with his men, reaching the outposts about 8 o'clock. A gallant onset was made, in which Lieutenant James Monroe, afterward President, was wounded. Sullivan and the other officers, according to a previously arranged plan, seconded the movement from another part of the town; the Hessians were disconcerted, and their general, Rahl, slain, when a surrender was made, nearly a thousand prisoners laying down their arms. General Howe, astounded at the event, sent out Cornwallis in pursuit, and he had his game seemingly secure when Washington, in front of him at Trenton, on the same side of the Delaware, made a bold diversion in an attack upon the forces left behind at Princeton. It was conducted at night, and, like the other, attended by success, though it cost the life of the gallant Mercer. After these brilliant actions the little army went into winter quarters at Morristown.

The next spring and summer were marked by no striking events except the withdrawal of the British troops from the Delaware; the advance of Burgoyne from Canada; the embarkation of General Howe for the purpose of mak-

ing his way up the Chesapeake to gain access to Philadelphia from Maryland; the arrival of Marquis de Lafayette as a volunteer in the cause of liberty; and the battle of Chad's Ford, on the east side of the Brandywine. A stand was made at this point, to which Knyphausen was opposed on the opposite bank, while Cornwallis, with a large division, took the upper course of the river and turned the flank of the position. A rout ensued, but the utter defeat of the Americans was saved by General Greene, who was placed at an advantageous point. Lafayette was severely wounded. Washington was not dismayed; on the contrary, he kept the field, marshaling and maneuvering through a hostile country—one thousand of his troops, as he informed Congress, actually barefoot. He would have offered battle, but was without the means to resist effectively the occupation of Philadelphia.

Thus closed the campaign of 1777 in Pennsylvania, while Burgoyne was laying down his arms to the northern army at Saratoga. The encampment at Valley Forge succeeded the scenes we have described. It is a name synonymous with suffering. Half clad, wanting frequently the simplest clothing, without shoes or blankets, the army was hutted in the snows and ice of the inclement winter. With the return of summer came the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British, who pursued their route across New Jersey to embark upon the waters of New York. On the 28th of June, 1778, they were attacked by Washington's forces at Monmouth Court House, and defeated with some loss. The remainder of the season was passed by the American army on the eastern borders of the Hudson, in readiness to co-

operate with the French, who had now arrived under D'Estaing, and in watching the British in New York.

The event of the next year in the little army of Washington, was the gallant storming of Stony Point by General Wayne. This was one of the defenses of the Highlands, on the Hudson, which had just before been captured and manned by Sir Henry Clinton. General Henry Lee's spirited attack on Paulus Hook, within sight of New York, followed, to cheer the encampment of Washington, who now busied himself in fortifying West Point. Winter found our army again quartered in New Jersey, this time at Morristown, where the hardships and severities of Valley Forge were even exceeded in the distressed condition of the troops in that rigorous season.

The most prominent event of the year 1780, in the personal career of Washington, was the defection of Arnold, with its attendant execution of Andre. We may not pause over the subsequent events of the war, the renewed exertions of Congress, the severe contests in the South, the meditated movement upon New York in the following year, but hasten to the sequel at Yorktown. The movement of the army of Washington to Virginia was determined by the expected arrival of the French fleet in that quarter from the West Indies. Cornwallis had arrived from the South, and was entrenching himself on York River. Washington, who had been planning an attack upon New York with Rochambeau, now suddenly and secretly directed his forces by a rapid march southward. Extraordinary exertions were made to expedite the troops. The timely arrival of Colonel Lawrens, from France, with an installment of the French

loan in specie, came to the aid of the liberal efforts of the financier of the Revolution, Robert Morris. Lafayette, with the Virginians, was hedging in the fated Cornwallis. Washington had just left Philadelphia, when he heard the joyous news of the arrival of DeGrasse in the Chesapeake. The combined French and American forces closed in upon Yorktown, which was fortified by redoubts and batteries, and on the first of October the place was completely invested. The first parallel was opened on the sixth. On the ninth Washington lighted the first gun. The storming of two annoying redoubts by French and American parties was set down for the night of the fourteenth. Hamilton, at the head of the latter, gallantly carried one of the works at the point of the bayonet without firing a gun. The redoubts gained were fortified and turned against the town. The second parallel was ready to open its fire. Cornwallis vainly attempted to escape with his forces across the river. He received no relief from Sir Henry Clinton, at New York, and on the 17th he proposed a surrender. On the 19th, the terms having been dictated by Washington, the whole British force laid down their arms. It was the virtual termination of the war; the crowning act of a vast series of military operations planned and perfected by the genius of Washington.

During the remainder of the war his efforts and vigilance were not relaxed. The news of peace arrived in the early summer of 1783, and the army prepared to separate. In memory of their fraternity the Society of the Cincinnati was founded, consisting of officers of the Revolution and their descendants, with Washington at their head. In the beginning of November he took leave of the army in an ad-

dress from head-quarters, with his accustomed warmth and emotion, and on the 25th entered New York at the head of a military and civic procession, as the British evacuated the city. On the 4th December he was escorted to the harbor, on his way to Congress to resign his command, after a touching scene of farewell with his officers, when the great heart did not disdain the sensibility of a tear and the kiss of his friends. On the 23d of the month he restored his commission to Congress, with a few remarks of great felicity, in which he commended "the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them to his holy keeping."

In 1787 he was placed at the head of the convention which gave a government to the scattered States and made this country a Nation; and soon thereafter he was again called to listen to the highest demands of his country in his unanimous election to the Presidency. With what emotions, with what humble resignation to the voice of duty, with how little fluttering of vainglory, let the modest entry in his diary of April 16, 1789, cited by Washington Irving, testify: "About ten o'clock," he writes, "I bade adieu to Mount Vernon, to private life and to domestic felicity; and with a mind oppressed with more anxious and painful sensations than I have words to express, set out for New York with the best disposition to render service to my country in obedience to its call, but with less hope of answering its expectations." His inauguration took place on the 30th of April. His administration is noted for the perfection of plans for a republican government. In September an act was passed by Congress, providing for a department of

foreign affairs, a treasury department, and a department of war. Jefferson was made secretary of the first, Knox of the second, Hamilton of the third. A supreme court was also organized, John Jay receiving the appointment of first chief-justice. Edmund Randolph was chosen attorney-general. On 29th September, 1789, Congress adjourned till the following January, and Washington availed himself of the interval to make a tour of the Eastern States. He was everywhere greeted with the most enthusiastic receptions, and returned to New York greatly improved in health.

The indebtedness of the United States at this time was eighty millions; and for a while raised some threatening questions. The genius of Hamilton, however, triumphed over every difficulty. Through his advice a duty was laid on the tonnage of merchant ships, with discrimination in favor of American vessels; and imports were levied upon all goods from abroad. These schemes were violently opposed by quite an array of doctrinaires, but Hamilton's policy was happily sustained and the credit of the government soon firmly established. In 1791, Vermont came into the Union as the fourteenth State, and in 1792 Kentucky was admitted. At the presidential election held in the autumn of 1792 Washington was again unanimously elected, and John Adams was elected Vice-president.

Our relations with foreign governments were considerably excited during Washington's second administration. The French Revolution of 1789 was still running its riotous course. The king had been murdered. Citizen Genet was sent as minister to the United States by the new republic. On his arrival at Charleston, and on his way to Philadelphia

he was greeted enthusiastically, and taking advantage of these evidences of popularity, he soon began to abuse his authority, fitted out privateers to prey upon the commerce of Great Britain, planned expeditions against Louisiana, and, although the President had already issued a proclamation of neutrality, demanded an alliance with the government. Washington and his cabinet firmly refused, and the audacious minister threatened to appeal to the people. In this outrageous conduct he was sustained and encouraged by the anti-Federal party. But Washington was unmoved, declared the conduct of the French minister an insult to the United States, and demanded his recall. The authorities of France heeded the demand, and Genet was superseded by Citizen Fouchet.

At about this time there was trouble in the cabinet. Hamilton's financial measures were attacked with vehement animosity by Jefferson; and the policy of Jefferson, in his relations and duties as secretary of foreign affairs, furnished the occasion for much bitter criticism from Hamilton's glittering pen. Both these officers were patriots, and both had insisted upon Washington's re-election to the Presidency. But in 1794, Jefferson resigned his office and retired to the privacy of Monticello. A year later Hamilton also retired from the cabinet, and was succeeded by Oliver Wolcott, of Connecticut. In 1793 a series of dastardly outrages were committed upon the commerce of the United States by Great Britain. George III had issued secret instructions to British privateers to seize all neutral vessels that might be found trading in the French West Indies. Our government received no notice of this measure; and American

commerce to the value of many millions was swept from the sea by a process equal to highway robbery. War seemed imminent, but prudence prevailed over passion, and in May, 1794, Chief-justice Jay was sent as envoy extraordinary to demand redress of the British Government. Contrary to expectation, his mission was successful, and in the following November an honorable treaty was concluded. It was specified in this treaty that Great Britain should make ample reparation for the injuries done by her privateers, and surrender to the United States certain Western posts which until now had been held by English garrisons.

The boundary between the United States and Louisiana was settled by a treaty with Spain in 1795. Tennessee, the third new State, was organized and admitted into the Union in 1796. These were among the last acts of Washington's administration. The time had arrived when his views were not cordially supported by Congress, and he longed for the retirement to private life; but so long as he occupied the presidential chair he proved to be stronger than Congress. So strong were the President's views in determining the action of the people, that Jefferson, writing to Monroe, at Paris, said: "Congress has adjourned. You will see by their proceedings the truth of what I always told you, namely, that one man outweighs them all in influence over the people, who support his judgment against their own and that of their representatives. Republicanism resigns the vessel to the pilot."

He was solicited to accept the presidential office for a third term, but firmly declined. Yet he parted fondly with the Nation, and like a parent, desired to leave some legacy of

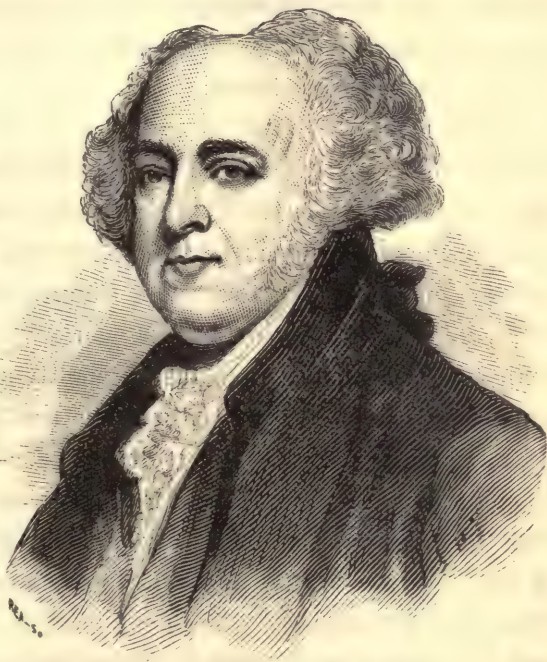
counsel to the offspring of liberty. Accordingly he published in September, 1796, in the *Daily Advertiser* at Philadelphia, the paper known as his Farewell Address to the People of the United States. It had long engaged his attention. He planned it himself, and, careful of what he felt might be used as a political landmark for ages, consulted Jay, Madison, and Hamilton in its composition. The spirit and sentiment, the political wisdom and patriotic fervor, are every whit his own, and the production will always remain a valuable legacy to the American freeman.

After Washington's retirement to Mount Vernon, new complications with France were threatened. Active hostilities were anticipated. The President looked to Washington to organize the army and take command, should it be brought into action, and he busied himself with the necessary preparations. He thought it best to be prepared for the emergency. Fresh negotiations for settlement of the dispute were opened, but he did not live to witness their pacific results. On the 12th of December, 1799, he was prostrated by exposure to a heavy storm, and died on the 14th. His remains were buried at Mount Vernon, and there the remains of his beloved wife, who died 22d May, 1802, are also deposited. Those who imitate his virtues and heed his counsels will conceive for the Union of these States "a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment," and entitle themselves to the confidence and approval of good men everywhere.

JOHN ADAMS.

JOHN ADAMS, second President of the United States, was born at Braintree, Massachusetts, October 19, 1735. He graduated from Harvard College at the age of twenty, and immediately occupied the position of Latin master in the grammar school at Worcester.

While teaching school he found time to read law with an attorney at Worcester, and in 1758 he was formally admitted to the bar as attorney-at-law in his majesty's courts of the province. In 1764 he married Abigail, daughter of Rev. William Smith, of Wey-



JOHN ADAMS.

mouth, and granddaughter of Colonel John Quincy, of Mt. Wollaston, of colonial fame.

Adams began his political career by offering public resolutions at Braintree, and maintaining an argument in behalf of the town of Boston, addressed to the Colonial Govern-

ment in opposition to the Stamp Act. He published, at about the same date, several papers in the *Boston Gazette*, which were reprinted in London by Thomas Hollis, who gave them the unfortunate title, "A Dissertation on the Canon and the Feudal Law," which has probably prevented many persons looking at the tract who would be interested in its review of the principles of the New England settlements and its vigorous appeal to the people in the then existing struggle. Shortly thereafter he was elected to the General Court, as the legislative body was then called in Massachusetts.

In 1774 he was appointed by the General Court one of the representatives to the Congress at Philadelphia, his associates being Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, and Robert Treat Paine. The business of Congress at once engaged his attention, and a session full of work was experienced, if not enjoyed. Returning to Massachusetts after the performance of these duties, he was chosen to the Provincial Congress, already quite busy with revolt. Three weeks after the battle of Lexington he was at Philadelphia, in attendance upon the Second Congress. Early upon the assembling of that body he proposed Washington for commander-in-chief; "the modest, the virtuous, the amiable, generous, and brave," as he called him in a letter to his wife.

During the session, Adams was diligently employed in the preparatory measures which led to the Declaration of Independence. July 3, 1776, on the passage of Lee's resolution of independence, he wrote to his wife as follows: "Yesterday the greatest question was decided which ever was debated in America, and a greater, perhaps, never was

nor will be decided among men. The second day of July, 1776, will be the most memorable epoch in the history of America. I am apt to believe that it will be celebrated by succeeding generations as the great anniversary festival. It ought to be commemorated as the day of deliverance by solemn acts of devotion to Almighty God. It ought to be solemnized with pomp and parade, with shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires, and illuminations from one end of this continent to the other, from this time forward, for ever more."

Adams was on the committee to prepare the declaration, and was active in the debate. In the absence of the present system of executive duties of government, the old Congress was compelled to resort to the awkward expedient of boards, in which the honor and efficiency, rather than the toil, were diminished by the division of labor. Adams was made chairman of the Board of War, and was much employed in military affairs till his departure from Congress at the close of the next year.

Having become dissatisfied with the management of Silas Dean in France, Congress, in 1777, appointed Adams in his place. He remained abroad only eighteen months, and was recalled at his own request. He arrived at Boston on the second of August, 1779, and within a week from that date was elected by his fellow-citizens of Braintree their delegate to the Constitutional Convention of Massachusetts. Before this duty was complete, he was again sent abroad to negotiate treaties of peace and alliance with foreign nations, at which he was employed for several years, and in 1785 he was appointed the first American minister to England.

In the spring of 1788 he returned to America. It was the period of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and when that instrument went fully into effect it was found that Adams had been chosen Vice-president, he having received the greatest number of votes of the electors, next to Washington. He held this office during both terms of Washington's administration, and gave active and often important assistance and support to the President.

In 1797 he succeeded to the Presidency, by a vote of seventy-one over sixty-eight for Jefferson. He found the country in imminent danger of a conflict with France, but the difficulty was peacefully settled. His administration is noted by the fact that under it the celebrated alien and sedition laws were enacted. His Presidency closed with a single term and the obstinate struggle which resulted in the election of Jefferson. In his retirement at Quincy he was full of activity, writing for the press and reviving for posterity past scenes of the history in which he was a part in an autobiographical memoir.

In 1818, when he was in his eighty-third year, his wife, one of the mothers of America, full of the sweetest and grandest memories of the past, was taken from him. His last public service was an occasional attendance at the convention for the formation of a new Constitution for Massachusetts, he then being eighty-five. Returning to thoughts of early friendship, he corresponded with Jefferson. The two venerable fathers of the Republic, Jefferson at the age of eighty-three, John Adams at ninety, died simultaneously upon the fiftieth anniversary of the Nation's birth, July 4, 1826. A few days before his death, the orator of his native

town called upon Adams for a toast to be presented at the ensuing anniversary. "Independence forever!" was the reply. As the sentiment was delivered at the banquet amid ringing plaudits, the soul of the dying patriot was passing from earth to eternity.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

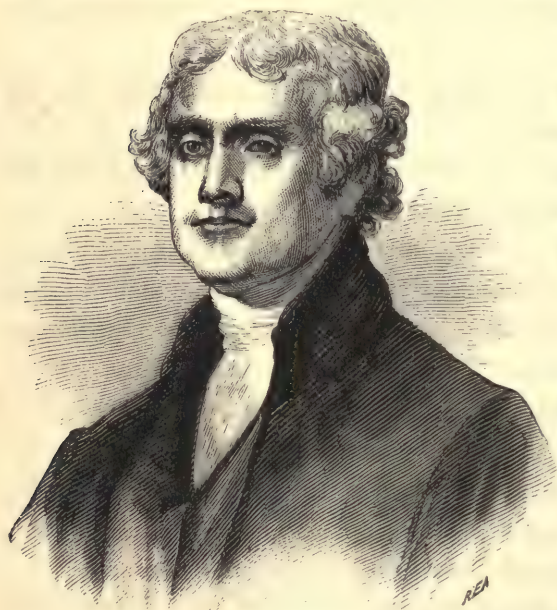
THOMAS JEFFERSON, third President of the United States, was born at Shadwell, Virginia, April 2, 1743. He had good private tutors during childhood and youth, and in 1760 entered William and Mary College. Here he remained but two years, but his education was happily continued in his immediate entrance upon the study of the law with George Wythe, the eminent chancellor of Virginia in after days.

In 1767 he was introduced to the bar of the General Court of Virginia, and immediately entered upon a successful career of practice, interrupted only by the Revolution. He was a well-trained, skilful lawyer, an adept in the casuistry of legal questions. He was more distinguished, however, for ability in argument than for power as an orator.

His first entrance upon political life was in 1769, when he was sent from the county of Albemarle to the House of Burgesses. It was at the entrance upon a troublous time in the consideration of national grievances, and we find him engaged at once in preparing the resolutions and address to the governor's message. The House, in reply to recent declarations of Parliament, reasserted the American princi-

ples of taxation and petition, and other questions in jeopardy, and in consequence was promptly dissolved by Lord Botetourt. Next day the members, George Washington among them, met at the Raleigh tavern and pledged themselves to a non-importation agreement.

Next year, after the conflagration of the house at Shadwell, he took up his residence at the adjacent "Monticello,"



THOMAS JEFFERSON.

also upon his paternal grounds, in a portion of the edifice so famous afterwards as the dwelling-place of his maturer years. In 1772, on New-Year's Day, he assumed the responsibilities of domestic life in marriage with Mrs. Martha Skelton, a widow of twenty-three, of much beauty, ex-

tensive general culture, and many winning accomplishments.

Political affairs were soon calling for additional legislative attention. The renewed claim of the British to send persons for State offenses to England, brought forward in Rhode Island, awakened a strong feeling of resistance among the Virginia delegates. A portion of them, including Jef-

ferson, met at the Raleigh tavern and drew up resolutions creating a committee of correspondence to watch the proceedings of Parliament and keep up communication with the colonies. These resolutions passed the Burgesses, and a committee, all notable men of the Revolution, was appointed. It included Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, Patrick Henry, and others, ending with Jefferson. Then the Earl of Dunmore, following the example of his predecessor, dissolved the House.

Next year the new Legislature met, and roused by the passage of the Boston Port Bill, a few members, says Jefferson, including Henry and himself, resolved to place the Assembly "in line with Massachusetts."

The expedient they hit upon was a fast day, which, by the help of some Puritan precedents they "cooked up" and placed in the hands of a grave member to lay before the House. It was passed, and the governor, as usual, dissolved the assembly. The fast was appointed for the first of June, the day on which the obnoxious bill was to take effect, and there was certainly one man in Virginia who kept it. We may read in the diary of George Washington of that date, "Went to Church and fasted all day."

The dissolved assembly again met at the Raleigh and decided upon a convention, to be elected by the people of the several counties, and held at Williamsburg, so that two bodies had to be chosen, one to assemble in the new House of Burgesses, the other beyond reach of government control. The same members, those of the previous House, were sent for both. Jefferson again represented the freeholders of Albemarle. The instructions which the county

gave, supposed from his pen, assert the independence of the Colonial Legislature as the sole fount of authority in new laws.

The Williamsburg convention met and appointed delegates to the first general Congress. Jefferson was detained from the assembly by illness, but he forwarded a draft of instructions for the delegates, which was not adopted, but ordered printed by the members. It bore the title, "A Summary View of the Rights of British America." It reached England, was taken up by the opposition, and, with some interpolations from Burke, passed through several editions. Though in advance of the judgment of the people, who were slow in coming up to the true principles of the great reform, the "view" undoubtedly assisted that judgment. But so slow was the progress of opinion at the outset that, at the moment when this paper was written, only a few leaders, such as Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry, were capable of appreciating it. The country was not yet ready to receive its virtual declaration of independence.

The Congress of 1774 met, but adopted milder forms of petition, better adapted to the moderation of their sentiments. Meanwhile committees of safety were organized in Virginia, and Jefferson headed the list in his county. He also attended the second Virginia convention at Richmond, and listened to Patrick Henry's impassioned appeal to the God of battles, "I repeat it, sir, we *must* fight!" The assembly adopted the view, and set about preparing means of defense. Delegates to the first Congress were elected to the second, and it was understood that in case Peyton Randolph should be called to preside over the House of Bur-

gesses, Thomas Jefferson was to be his successor at Philadelphia. The House met. Randolph was elected and Jefferson departed to fill his place, bearing with him to Congress the spirited resolutions of the assembly, which he had written and driven through in reply to the conciliatory propositions of Lord North. It was a characteristic introduction, immediately followed by his appointment on the committee charged to prepare a declaration of the causes of taking up arms, Congress having just chosen Washington commander-in-chief of a national army.

June 11, 1776, a committee was appointed in Congress to prepare a Declaration of Independence. Jefferson took the place of Richard Henry Lee on the committee, with John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston. The preparation of the instrument was intrusted to Jefferson. "The committee desired me to do it; it was accordingly done," says his autobiography. The draft thus prepared, with a few verbal corrections from Franklin and Adams, was submitted to the House June 28th. On July 2d it was taken up in debate, and earnestly battled for three days, when, on the afternoon of the ever-memorable Fourth, it was finally reported, agreed to, and signed. The paper stands substantially as first reported by Jefferson. It is intimately related to his previous resolutions and reports in Virginia and the Congress, and whatever merit may attach to the composition belongs to him.

He was elected to the next Congress, but pleading the state of his family affairs, and desirous to take part in the formative measures of government then arising in Virginia, he was permitted to resign. He declined also, immediately

after, an appointment by Congress, as fellow-minister to France with Dr. Franklin. In the following October he took his seat in the Virginia House of Delegates, and commenced those efforts of reform with which his name will always be identified, and which did not end till the social condition of his State was thoroughly revolutionized. His first great blow was a bill abolishing entails, which, with one subsequently brought in, cutting off the right of primogeniture, leveled the great landed aristocracy which had theretofore governed in the country. He was also, at about the time of the passing of these acts, created one of the committee for the general revision of the laws, his active associates being Edmund Pendleton and George Wythe. This vast work was not completed till June, 1779—an interval of more than two years. Among the one hundred and sixteen new bills reported, was one by Jefferson establishing religious freedom which abolished tithes, and left all men free “to profess, and by argument to maintain their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in nowise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities.” A concurrent act provided for the preservation of the glebe lands to Church members.

He proposed a system of free common school education, a method of re-organization for William and Mary College, and provision for a free State library.

In 1779 Mr. Jefferson succeeded Patrick Henry as governor of Virginia, falling upon a period of administration requiring military defense of the State—less suited to his talents than the reforming legislation in which he had been recently engaged. His wife died in September, 1782. Her

illness had prevented his acceptance of an appointment in Europe, to negotiate terms of peace. A similar office was now tendered him—the third proffer of the kind by Congress—and, looking upon it as a relief to his distracted mind, as well as a duty to the State, he accepted. Before preparations for his departure were completed, intelligence was received of the progress of peace negotiations, and the voyage was abandoned.

November, 1783, he was returned to Congress, where one of his first duties the following month was as chairman of the committee of arrangements for the reception of Washington on his resignation of command. In 1784 we find him making his mark in the debates upon the ratification of the treaty of peace. In his suggestions upon the establishment of a money unit and a national coinage, which were subsequently adopted, he gave us the decimal system and the denomination of 'a cent; the cession of the Northwestern Territory by Virginia, with his report for its government, proposing names for its new States, and the exclusion of slavery after the year 1800; and taking an active part in the arrangement of commercial treaties with foreign nations. In the latter he was destined to be an actor as well as designer, for Congress, on 7th May, appointed him to act in Europe with Adams and Franklin in the accomplishment of these negotiations.

In the summer of 1785 Dr. Franklin resigned from the French embassy, and Jefferson remained in Paris as his successor. Returning to the United States in 1789, President Washington appointed him Secretary of State, which position he filled with honor till 1793, performing noble work.

Four years he remained in retirement at Monticello, and in 1797, upon the election of John Adams, reappeared upon the political stage as Vice-president. The storm of party began under Adams, and one of its results was the election of Jefferson to the Presidency in 1800.

Among the earlier of his measures, and the most important during his eight years as Chief Magistrate, was the acquisition of Louisiana by purchase from France. From the first moment of learning that this territory was passing from Spain to France, he dropped all political sympathy with the latter, and saw in her possession of the region only a pregnant source of war and hostility. An active European nation of the first class in possession of the mouth of the Mississippi was utterly inadmissible to his sagacious mind. He saw and felt the fact in all its consequences. At the succeeding presidential contest, Jefferson was borne into office, spite of a vigorous opposition, by a vote of one hundred and sixty-two in the electoral college to fourteen for Charles C. Pinckney.

The main events of his second administration were the trial of Burr for his alleged Western conspiracy and the measures adopted against the naval aggressions of England, which culminated in the famous "Embargo," by which the foreign trade of the country was annihilated at a blow that Great Britain might be reached in her commercial interests. His second term expired in 1809, and he retired from office while the country was in an agitated state in reference to its foreign policy, but with many elements at home of enduring prosperity and grandeur.

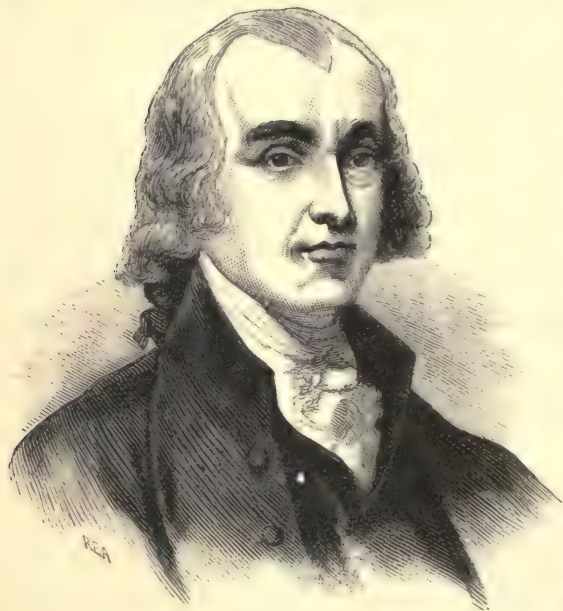
He had been too much of a reformer not to suffer more

than most men the obloquy of party ; but he lived in retirement during the remaining seventeen years of his life under the popular designation, "the Sage of Monticello." If in his latter days any subject was dearer to his heart than another it was the course of education in the organization and government of his favorite University of Virginia. Its curriculum reflected his tastes ; its government was of his contrivance ; he looked abroad for its first professors ; and its architectural plans, in which he took great interest, were mainly arranged by him. He was chosen by the board of visitors and appointed by the governor its rector, and died holding the office. An inscription for his monument, which was found among his papers after death, reads : "Here lies buried Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of American Independence, of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom, and Father of the University of Virginia." On the 4th July, 1826, his spirit passed to the other shore.

JAMES MADISON.

JAMES MADISON, fourth President of the United States, was born in Orange county, Virginia, March 16, 1751. He received his early education at a boarding-school, presided over by Donald Robertson, with whom he was placed at the age of twelve. He was prepared for college by the clergyman of his parish, Rev. Thomas Martin, and entered Princeton in 1768. In three years thereafter he graduated with honor.

In the first General Convention of the State of Virginia, which organized its independence in 1776, at Williamsburg, Madison was a delegate from his district. He was one of a committee appointed to frame a constitution, and rendered valuable services. He sat with Jefferson in the first Legislative Assembly under the Constitution at Williamsburg, but



JAMES MADISON.

lost his election to the next session by his resistance to the popular custom, inherited from the Anglican colonial times, of "treating" the electors.

He was sent to the National Congress, at Philadelphia, in 1780, where he served till the conclusion of peace. The

services rendered by him during this period were rather those of a counselor and committee-man than those of a debater. But if we hear little of the oratory of Madison, there is much to be said of his services to the old Congress. They were those of the statesman, continually employed in eking out the resources, sustaining the credit, and adjusting the irregular machinery of an imperfect system of govern-

ment. After the first glow of patriotism, in the early scenes of the Revolution, there was more of toil than of glory in the labors of Congress. But they had one compensation. They were well calculated to discipline the statesmen who engaged in them, and enlighten the public upon the necessities and claims of a just government. Out of the troubled strife and confusion came forth, with others, Jay, Hamilton, and Madison, and the Nation, after long pains, brought forth the Constitution.

We find him, at one time, discharging with consummate ability, duties which in these days would fall to a Secretary of State; among other things the preparation of a paper to be sent to the minister in Spain, enforcing the claim to the free navigation of the Mississippi. Upon his return to Montpelier, he gave special attention to the study of the law, but rather with a view to statesmanship than with any intention to engage in the ordinary conflicts of the profession.

From 1784 to 1786 he was a member of the Virginia Legislature, and in the latter year was re-appointed a member of the old Congress. In 1794 he was married with Mrs. Todd, a young widow of Philadelphia, better known by her maiden name, Dolly Payne. The marriage was most happy. Upon the election of Jefferson to the Presidency, in 1801, Madison became Secretary of State, and discharged the duties of the office till he was in 1809 called to succeed his friend at the head of the government.

The conflict with England was the chief event of Madison's administrations. He was a man of peace, not of the sword, and needed not the terror and indecorum of the flight

from Washington, and the burning of the Capitol, to impress upon him the unsatisfactory necessities of war. Public opinion was divided as to the wisdom of the contest, and it is to the credit of Madison that, although he entered upon the apparently inevitable hostilities with reluctance, he maintained the struggle firmly and brought it to an early close.

He retired to his seat at Montpelier in 1817, and with the exception of his participation as a member of the convention at Richmond, in 1829, for the revision of the Constitution of Virginia, he is said never to have left his district for the remainder of his life. He died June 28, 1836, the last of the signers of the Constitution to join "the silent majority."

"Purity, modesty, decorum—a moderation, temperance and virtue in every thing," said the late Senator Benton, "were the characteristics of Mr. Madison's life and manners."

JAMES MONROE.

THE fifth President of the United States, James Monroe, was born in April, 1758, in Westmoreland County, Virginia, on the Potomac—a region remarkable in the history of the country as the birthplace of Washington, Madison, and of the distinguished family of the Lees.

He was educated at the College of William and Mary, which he left to take part in the early struggles of the army of Washington—a cause which in the breast of Virginians superseded all ordinary duties and occupations. He joined

the American forces at New York in time to participate in the courageous retreat after the battle of Long Island.

He was in the action at Harlem Heights and the subsequent battle of White Plains, and in the retreat through the Jerseys. His company was in the van of the battle of Trenton, where he was severely wounded. He was with Lord Stirling, acting as his aid in the campaigns of 1777-78, and distinguished himself at Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth. In 1780 he was specially employed by Governor Jefferson to visit the Southern army as a military commissioner, to make a report upon its condition.



JAMES MONROE.

In 1782 he was elected a member of the Virginia Legislature, and shortly promoted by that body to a seat in its executive council. In June, 1783, he was chosen member of Congress, and sat at its meeting at Annapolis when Washington resigned his military commission at the close of the war.

The three years' service of Mr. Monroe in Congress closed in 1786. During that term he married Miss Kortright, a lady of New York, of an old and respectable family of the State, of whose personal merits John Quincy Adams said: "It were impossible to speak in terms of exaggeration. She was, for a period little short of half a century, the cherished and affectionate partner of her husband's life and fortune. . . . The companion of his youth was the solace of his declining years, and to the close of life enjoyed the testimonial of his affection, that with the external beauty and elegance of deportment, conspicuous to all who were honored with her acquaintance, she united the more precious and endearing qualities which mark the fulfillment of all social duties, and adorn with grace and fill with enjoyment the tender relations of domestic life."

In 1787 he was returned to the Assembly of Virginia. In the year following he was a member of the convention of his State, called to decide upon the acceptance of the Constitution. In 1789 he was elected to the Senate of the United States to fill the vacancy caused by the death of William Grayson, one of the first members chosen. He continued in the Senate until 1794, when he was appointed by Washington minister to France, contemporaneously with Chief-justice Jay to the court of Great Britain.

He was recalled in 1797, and succeeded by General C. C. Pinckney. He was immediately returned to the Virginia Legislature, and soon elected governor of the State, holding the office for the constitutional term of three years. Early in 1803 he was again called upon by the President to proceed to France as minister extraordinary to take part in

the negotiations already commenced by the resident minister, Robert R. Livingston, for the purchase or cession of Louisiana. Within a month after Monroe's arrival in Paris, the treaty was concluded, ceding Louisiana to the United States. A more advantageous purchase has seldom been made by any nation, and the successful event of the negotiation was the glory of Jefferson's administration.

Mr. Monroe went from Paris to London, the successor of Rufus King as minister plenipotentiary to Great Britain. He immediately entered upon his duties, and was busy with the open maritime questions between the two nations, when he was called by President Jefferson to proceed to Spain and assist Charles Pinckney, the minister to that court, in the negotiations respecting claims for damages and the settlement of the disputed Louisiana boundary question. Though little resulted at the time from the discussions, the diplomatic papers of Monroe remain, in the language of John Quincy Adams, "Solid monuments of intellectual power applied to national claims of right, deserving the close and scrutinizing attention of every American statesman."

In 1805 he resumed his duties in London, and in the question of England's aggressions upon our commerce, was enabled to conclude a treaty in 1807, which, although not satisfactory, was the best obtainable under the complicated difficulties of the times, when England had her war interests to maintain, and the United States had not the means of enforcing her positions.

Monroe's next public office was governor of Virginia for the second time, in 1810; and toward the close of the following year he was called by Madison to the Secretaryship

of State. He continued in this relation during the remainder of Madison's Presidency. Monroe was called to the Presidency in 1819 by a large majority of the electoral vote. His inaugural, which was well received by the public, introduced the topics of a new era. He urged measures for the national defense, and favored the elements of national prosperity in internal improvements and home manufactures. His conciliatory policy looking to the welfare of the country was evident.

The chief events of Mr. Monroe's first term were the admission of Mississippi, Illinois, and Alabama as new States, and the important cession of Florida by Spain, in 1819, completing the work of annexation commenced in the purchase of Louisiana. When the time for re-election came around, President Monroe was again chosen, with but one dissenting vote, that of New Hampshire, which was given to John Quincy Adams.

He continued to pursue a liberal policy of internal improvements within the limits of the Constitution, to forward the military defenses on land, and the growth and employment of the navy at sea. At the close of his administration, he thus took leave of the public: "I can not conclude this communication," ends his eighth annual message, "the last of the kind which I shall have to make, without recollecting, with great sensibility and heart-felt gratitude, the many instances of public confidence, and the generous support which I have received from my fellow-citizens in the various trusts with which I have been honored. Having commenced my service in early youth, and continued it since, with few and short intervals, I have witnessed the

great difficulties to which our Union has been exposed, and admired the virtue and courage with which they were surmounted."

He retired from Washington to a temporary residence in Loudon County, where, true to a policy of usefulness which had governed him through life, he discharged the duties of justice of the peace. He was chosen president of the convention which sat to revise the Constitution of Virginia, in the winter of 1829-30, but ill health and the infirmities of advanced life, compelled him to resign his seat before the adjournment of that body. He died July 4, 1831, "the flickering lamp of life holding its lingering flame as if to await the day of the Nation's birth and glory."

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

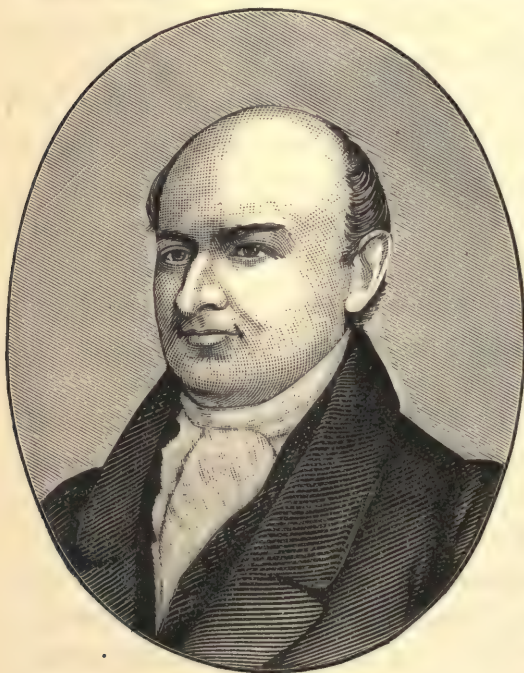
JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, sixth President of the United States, was born at Braintree, Massachusetts, in that part of the town which was afterwards set off and incorporated by the name of Quincy, 11th of July, 1767.

Mr. Adams was favored in the period which his life covered, as well as in the influences under which it commenced. His history runs back to the beginning of the Revolution, embraces its trying and stimulating experiences, and includes the entire range of wonderful events which were accumulated in the action of near seventy busy years.

At the age of eleven he accompanied his father to France, and during the period of their stay—about eighteen

months—he was kept in a French school, studying the native language, with the usual classical exercises, which were nowhere better taught at that time than in the institutions of Paris. He returned in 1779, but in three months Congress again dispatched his father to Europe, and John Quincy accompanied him.

Upon this trip the frigate in which they sailed sprang a leak, in a gale of wind, and was forced to vary from her



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

port of destination, which was Brest, and to put into the port of Ferrol, in Spain. From there they traveled to Paris; from Paris to Holland. The lad was put to school in Paris, afterwards in Amsterdam, and finally, in the University of Leyden. In July, 1781, Francis Dana, who had been secretary to the embassy of John Adams, was

commissioned plenipotentiary to Russia, and he took with him John Quincy Adams, then at the age of fourteen, as his private secretary.

His letters from St. Petersburg to friends in America

betray a marked intelligence and power of observation early awakened. He remained in Russia with Mr. Dana till October, 1782, when he left St. Petersburg and returned alone, through Sweden, Denmark, Hamburg, and Bremen, to Holland, spending the winter in the route, and stopping some time in Stockholm, Copenhagen, and Hamburg. In Holland he remained several months, till his father took him from The Hague to Paris, where he was present at the signing of the treaty of peace, in September, 1783, and from that time to May, 1785, he was with his father in England and Holland, as well as in France. At London he had rare opportunities for the early formation of the future statesman, enjoying the advantage of introductions by distinguished members of Parliament, upon the floor of the House, and listening many times to the eloquence of Burke, Pitt, Fox, Sheridan, and other eminent orators, whose great talents at that time adorned the British nation.

In his eighteenth year his father yielded to his solicitations and permitted him to return to his native land. He entered Harvard University at an advanced standing, and was graduated Bachelor of Arts in 1787 with distinguished honor. He then entered the office, at Newburyport, of the celebrated Theophilus Parsons, afterwards chief-justice of Massachusetts. Upon completing the study of the law, he entered the profession, and established himself in Boston. He remained there four years, extending his acquaintance with the first principles of law, and taking part in the important questions which then engrossed the attention of the people.

In April, 1793, before Washington had published his proclamation of neutrality, and before it was known he con-

templated doing it, Mr. Adams published three articles signed "Marcellus," strongly arguing that the United States ought to assume such a position in the war then begun between England and France. In these papers he laid down his creed, as a statesman, in two great central principles, to which he ever afterwards steadfastly adhered, namely: Union among ourselves, and independence of all entangling alliance, or implication, with the policy or condition of foreign states. In the winter of 1793-94 he published another series of papers, indicating the course of President Washington in reference to the French minister, Genet.

These writings, in connection with Mr. Adams's previous career, attracted the marked regard of Washington, and in 1794 he was appointed, without any intimation of such a design to him or his father, minister of the United States to the Netherlands. It appears that Mr. Jefferson recommended him for this appointment. For a period of seven years—1794 to 1801—he was in Europe on diplomatic missions to Holland, England, and Prussia.

Just before Washington retired from office, he appointed him minister plenipotentiary to Portugal. On his way to Lisbon he received a new commission, changing his destination to Berlin. He continued there from November, 1797, to April, 1801, and completed an important treaty of commerce with Prussia. At the close of his father's administration he returned home, arriving at Philadelphia in September, 1801.

In 1802 he was elected from Boston a member of the Massachusetts Senate, and soon after, by the Legislature, a Senator in Congress from the 4th of March, 1803. While

Senator he was appointed professor of rhetoric and oratory at Harvard University, and his lectures, delivered in the recesses of Congress, attracted great attention, and gathered crowded and admiring audiences in addition to academical hearers. They were subsequently published in two octavo volumes. His powers of elocution were pre-eminent. He resigned his seat in the Senate in 1808. In 1809 Madison sent him as plenipotentiary to Russia.

While in Russia his services were of vast importance, and produced effects upon our foreign relations yet felt most beneficently. By his instrumentality the emperor of Russia was induced to mediate for peace between Great Britain and the United States, and President Madison named Adams at the head of the commissioners sent to negotiate the treaty which brought the war of 1812 to a close. This transaction was at Ghent, in December, 1814. Henry Clay and Albert Gallatin were upon the same commission. After its conclusion, Adams proceeded, accompanied by them, to London, and negotiated a convention of commerce with Great Britain. He was then appointed minister at the court of St. James.

There is a coincidence here worthy of note. As the father, John Adams took the leading part in negotiating the treaty with England, at the close of the Revolutionary war, and was the first American ambassador in London after that event, so the son was at the head of the negotiators who brought the second war with Great Britain to a close, and presented his credentials as the first American ambassador at that court after the restoration of peace. In 1817 he was called home by President Monroe, to what is really

the second office in the government, the Secretaryship of State.

This was the close of Mr. Adams' career as a foreign minister. It was perhaps the most brilliant, as it certainly was the most varied and interesting, portion of his life. His first appointment as minister was conferred upon him by Washington, in accordance with the strong recommendation of Jefferson. Madison, during his whole administration, committed to him the most important trusts; appointed him to represent the United States at the two most powerful courts in the world, St. Petersburg and St. James, and assigned him as the chief of that distinguished embassy which arranged the treaty of Ghent. The encomium which Washington pronounced upon him, when as early as 1797 he declared him "the most valuable public character we have abroad, and the ablest of all our diplomatic corps," is but the judgment that belongs to the whole long period of his public service in Europe.

The act of Mr. Monroe in placing him at the head of his cabinet met with the fullest approval of the country. General Jackson gave utterance to his sense of approbation when he pronounced Adams "the fittest person for the office; a man who would stand by his country in the hour of danger." The portfolio of State was held by Mr. Adams during the whole of Monroe's administration, a period of eight years; and the duties were discharged with such ability and success as greatly increased the public confidence in him as a statesman and patriot. The adjustment of the claims of Spain, the acquisition of Florida, the recognition of the South American Republics, with many other

important issues effected by his talent or under his potent influence, and the vast amount of labor, generally, which he expended in the service of the country, are matters of history, and we would gladly enlarge upon them did space permit.

In the presidential election of 1824 Mr. Adams was one of four candidates. As no one of them received a majority of the electoral vote, the election was thrown into the House of Representatives. On the 9th February, 1825, the two branches of Congress convened together in the hall of the House, to open, count, and declare the electoral vote. Andrew Jackson was found to have 99, John Quincy Adams 84, William H. Crawford 41, and Henry Clay 37 votes. In accordance with the Constitution, the Senate then withdrew, and the House remained to cast ballots till a choice should be made. It was required to vote by States. The Constitution limited the election to the three candidates who had the highest electoral vote; and the balloting was to continue till a majority of the States had declared for one of the three. Mr. Adams having received as many popular votes as General Jackson, the fact that the latter had received a larger electoral vote did not have so much influence as would otherwise have belonged to it; so that at the moment of balloting it was entirely uncertain which would be successful. Thirteen States were necessary to a choice, the whole number then being twenty-four. The ballots were cast, and it was found that the six New England States, with New York, Maryland, Ohio, Kentucky, Illinois, Missouri, and Louisiana (thirteen) had declared for John Quincy Adams; and he was therefore duly elected President of the

United States for four years, from the 4th March, 1825. Henry Clay was instrumental in throwing the vote of Kentucky in his favor, and perhaps the votes of other States.

"His administration," says Edward Everett, "was, in its principles and policy, a continuation of Mr. Monroe's. The special object which he proposed to himself was to bind the distant parts of the country together, and promote their mutual prosperity by increased facilities of communication." He was the most scholarly and best-informed President the American people had ever elected, and his administration was eminently dignified, moderate, conciliatory toward foreign powers, and wisely regardful of the future welfare of the country. There were many elements of opposition at work against a re-election, and in the complicated struggles of the times there was no chance for a modest, retiring man, no matter what his abilities might be. Adams encountered a full measure of unpopularity, not for what he had either done or omitted, but in response to the clamor of those who were hungry for his place, and who were not scrupulous as to the means employed to satisfy their ambition. He retired to Quincy, to the home recently desolated by the decease of his honored father.

But there was still something for him to do in the service of his country. He was elected in November, 1830, by his district to the House of Representatives, and served in this capacity for more than sixteen years. He was the most punctual man in the House, always on the alert, cool, resolute, even pugnacious. The number and excellence of speeches he made, and the amount of really good, valuable,

conscientious work he performed in these later years would be a sufficient monument to his fame were it not that his previous services were so distinguished and so infinitely superior to those of most of his contemporaries.

He was approaching eighty, but still in the exercise of his extraordinary faculties, when, in a recess of Congress, walking in the streets of Boston in November, 1846, he was stricken by paralysis, from which, nevertheless, he recovered in time to take his seat in Congress early in the session. The House rose to greet him, and he was conducted to his chair with marked honors. He continued in the House another year, when the final messenger came, on Monday morning, February 21, 1848. After passing Sunday in harmony with his elevated, religious life, he was observed to ascend the steps of the Capitol with his accustomed alacrity. As he rose to address the Speaker he was seized by a return of paralysis and fell, uttering, "This is the last of earth; I am content." He was taken, as the House adjourned, to an adjacent room, where he lingered over Washington's birthday to the 23d, when he died in the Speaker's apartment, under the roof of the Capitol. His remains were taken to Boston, reposed in state in Faneuil Hall, and were quietly laid by the side of his parents in a grove at Quincy. Thus lived and toiled and died "the Old Man Eloquent."

ANDREW JACKSON.

ANDREW JACKSON, seventh President of the United States, was born in the territory now known as Union County, North Carolina, March 15, 1767. His father died a few days previous to his birth, and having left no means



ANDREW JACKSON.

of support for the family, the mother found a home for herself and children with a brother-in-law living just over the line in South Carolina. Young Jackson had fair advantages of education, for at quite an early age we find him at an academy at Charlotte.

It is said to have been his mother's design to

prepare him for the calling of a Presbyterian clergyman. Such, indeed, might well have been his prospects, for he had a nature capable of the service, had not the war of the Revolution carried him in quite a different direction. In 1779 came the invasion of South Carolina, the ruthless expedition

of Prevost along the seaboard preceding the arrival of Clinton and the fall of Charleston. The latter event occurred in May of the following year, and Cornwallis felt free to carry out his plan for the subjugation of the country. Sending Tarleton before him, the very month of the surrender of the city, the war of devastation was carried to the border of the State, to the very home of Jackson. The engagement at the Waxhaws was one of the bloodiest in a series of bloody actions, which ended only with the final termination of hostilities. It was a massacre rather than a battle, and American blood was poured forth like water. The mangled bodies of the wounded were brought into the church of the settlement, where the mother of young Jackson, then a boy of thirteen, with himself and a brother, attended the sick and wounded. That gory bed of war, consecrated by the spot where his father had worshiped, and near where he reposed in lasting sleep, summoned the boy to his baptism of blood.

He really began his military career at the age of fourteen, and was soon after taken prisoner, together with an elder brother. During his captivity he was ordered by a British officer to perform some menial service, which he promptly refused, and for this he was severely wounded with the sword which the Englishman disgraced. He was educated for the bar, and began practice in Nashville, Tennessee, but soon relinquished his legal pursuits to gain a name in arms.

In the early part of the war of 1812, Congress having voted to accept fifty thousand volunteers, Jackson appealed to the militia of Tennessee, when twenty-five hundred enrolled their names and presented themselves ready for duty.

Jackson was their leader by nature as well as by choice. They were accepted, and ordered to Natchez to watch the operations of the British on the lower Mississippi.

Not long after, the commander received orders to disband his men, as their services were no longer needed. To obey, he foresaw, would be an act of great injustice to his followers, besides reflecting dishonor upon the country, and he resolved to disobey. He accordingly broke up his camp and returned to Nashville, bringing all his sick with him—whose wants on the way he relieved with his private means—and there disbanded his troops in the midst of their homes.

After a short interval he was called to the field again, and the course of his duty was marked out in the wild contests of Indian warfare. Here for years he labored and fought and diplomatized, with the most consummate wisdom and undaunted courage. His treaty with the Creek Indians on the "Hickory Ground" gave him the familiar sobriquet of Old Hickory, but he was quite as much entitled to it on account of his strength and endurance. The crowning glory of his whole military career was gained at the battle of New Orleans; and it will ever illumine one of the brightest pages of American history. On the 10th of December, 1814, the British army under Sir Edward Packenham entered the outlet of Lake Borgne, sixty miles north-east of New Orleans. Four days afterward a flotilla of gun-boats which had been placed to guard the lake was captured by the British, but not till a severe loss had been inflicted upon the captors.

On 22d of December Packenham's advance reached the Mississippi, nine miles below New Orleans. On the night of the 23d, General Jackson sent a schooner down the river

to bombard the British camp, while at the same time he and General Coffee advanced with two thousand Tennessee riflemen to attack Packenham's camp in front. After a bloody assault Jackson was compelled to retire, the enemy losing most in the engagement. On the following day Jackson fell back and took a strong position along the canal, four miles below the city. Packenham advanced, and on the 28th cannonaded the American position, with but little effect. On New Year's day the attack was renewed. The heavy guns of the British had been brought into position; but the Americans easily held their ground, and the enemy was again driven back. Packenham now made arrangements to lead his whole army in a grand assault upon the American lines.

Jackson was prepared for him. Earthworks had been constructed and a long line of cotton bales and sand bags thrown up for protection. On the morning of the memorable 8th of January, the British advanced. The battle began by the light of early dawn and was ended before nine o'clock. Packenham hurled column after column against the American position, and every column was hurled back in death and dismay. The Americans, behind their breastworks, were almost entirely secure from the enemy's fire, while every discharge of the Tennessee and Kentucky rifles told with awful effect upon the exposed veterans of England. Packenham, trying to rally his men, was killed; General Gibbs, second in command, was mortally wounded; General Keene fell disabled; only General Lambert was left to call the shattered fragments of the army from the field. Of the British, quite seven hundred were killed; fourteen hundred,

wounded ; five hundred, prisoners. The American loss was eight killed and thirteen wounded. So far as operations by land were concerned, this was the close of the war. Jackson marched into New Orleans with his victorious army, and was received with unbounded enthusiasm.

He returned to his home in Nashville ; but in 1818 he was again called upon to render military service in the expulsion of the Seminoles. Eager for the service, he sprang to the work and conducted it in his own fashion, "taking the responsibility" throughout, summoning volunteers to accompany him from Tennessee without the formality of the civil authority, advancing rapidly into Florida after his arrival at the frontier, capturing the Spanish fort of St. Marks, and pushing thence to the Suwanee. General McIntosh, the half-breed who accompanied his march, performed feats of valor in the destruction of the Seminoles. At the former of these places, a trader from New Providence, a Scotchman named Arbuthnot, a superior member of his class, and a pacific man, fell into his hands ; and at the latter, a vagrant English military adventurer, one Ambrister. Both of these men were held under arrest, charged with complicity in the Indian aggressions, and though entirely irresponsible to the American commander, were summarily tried under his order by court-martial on Spanish territory, at St. Marks, found guilty, and executed on the spot. He refused to receive the reconsideration by the court of its sentence, of Ambrister, substituting stripes and imprisonment for death. He was shot, and Arbuthnot was hung from the yard-arm of his own vessel in the harbor. The remaining event of the campaign was the capture of Pensacola, in which a garrison was left.

General Jackson was the first governor of Florida, appointed by President Monroe after its acquisition by the United States. Previous to his nomination for the Presidency, he had been judge, major-general, governor, and United States Senator, and in every position had performed acts which were famous enough to be talked about in all parts of the Union. He was nominated to the high office in 1824, but there were four candidates, none of whom had a majority of the electoral vote; consequently the election was thrown into the House, and John Quincy Adams was chosen. In 1828 Jackson was again nominated, and was triumphant. In 1832 he was re-elected by a very large majority.

The record of these eight years of his presidential service is the real beginning of a new history of the Democratic party; of the exertions of its most distinguished representatives; of the establishment of its most cherished principles—its anti-bank creed in the overthrow of the United States Bank, and the origination of the sub-treasury system, which went into operation with his successor; the reduction of the tariff; the opposition to internal improvements; the payment of the national debt. In addition to the settlement of these long-agitated questions, his administrations were signalized by the removal of the Cherokees from Georgia and the Creeks from Florida; while their foreign policy was candid and vigorous, bringing to a satisfactory adjustment the outstanding claims upon France and other nations, and maintaining friendly relations with England. In all these measures the energetic hand of Jackson was felt, but particularly was his character manifested in the general conduct of the bank question, the collection of the

French indemnity, and the enforcement of the national authority in South Carolina.

General Jackson's love of the Union was a deep and abiding passion. He had no toleration for those who sought to weaken this great instinct of nationality. No sophism could divert his understanding from the plainest obligation of duty to the whole country. He saw as clearly as the subtlest logician in the Senate the inevitable tendency of any argument which would impair the allegiance of the people to the central authority. "The Union must and shall be preserved" was a prime article of his creed, but he little anticipated at what cost it would be finally sustained.

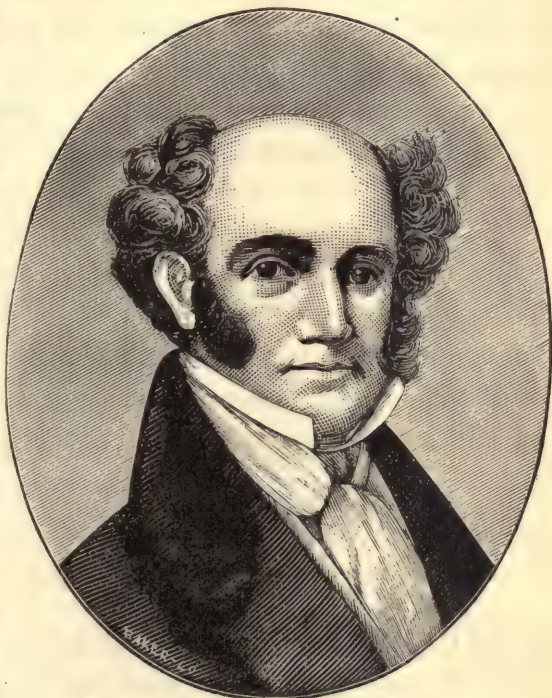
He has passed away, but his record is enduring. On the 8th of June, 1845, this child of the Revolution, this conqueror of the implacable savage, this savior of New Orleans, this idol of his party—an old man of seventy-eight, but still young in spirit, closed his eyes in lasting repose.

MARTIN VAN BUREN.

MARTIN VAN BUREN, eighth President of the United States, was born at Kinderhook, New York, September 5, 1782, and in his early years received the best education that could then be obtained in the schools of his immediate vicinity. Having sufficiently prepared himself for the study of the law, he entered the office of Francis Sylvester, where he remained six years. He adopted the legal profession to acquire the craft of statesmanship, rather than as an occupation.

In 1808 he was appointed surrogate of Columbia County. In 1812, and also in 1816, he was elected a member of the New York Senate. In 1821 he was elected a Senator of the United States. In 1828 he was elected governor of New York, but served in that capacity only a few weeks. In March, 1829,

General Jackson tendered him the State portfolio in his cabinet, which he accepted and held for two years, when he resigned to accept the appointment of minister to England. When his nomination to this latter office was submitted to the Senate—June 25, 1831—it was rejected by the casting vote of the Vice-president, Mr.



MARTIN VAN BUREN.

Cathoun, and Mr. Van Buren was recalled. In May, 1832, he was placed in nomination for the Vice-presidency and elected by a large vote.

In 1836 he was nominated and elected to the chief magistracy. The principal measure of his administration was the establishment of the independent sub-treasury, by

which the business of the government was entirely separated from the affairs of the people. The panic of 1837 had followed immediately upon the close of Jackson's administration, and the people were anxious for some measure of relief. The sub-treasury failed to help them.

General Harrison was elected to succeed Mr. Van Buren in 1840, when he visited Europe. Upon his return, in 1848, he was nominated for the Presidency by the Free-Soil party, but did not receive any part of the electoral vote. In July 24, 1862, he died, at the ripe age of eighty years.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, ninth President of the United States, was born at Berkeley, Charles City County, Virginia, February 9, 1773, and was educated at Hampden-Sydney College. He was designed for the medical profession, and, indeed, had made some progress in acquiring a knowledge of its mysteries, when the death of his father changed all his plans. He resolved to go into the army, and was granted by Washington an ensign's commission in the First Regiment U. S. Infantry, which was stationed at Fort Washington, the present site of Cincinnati. The battle on the Miamis was fought August 20, 1794, and a year after brought forth its peaceful fruits in Wayne's treaty of Greenville, which closed the war.

Harrison was then twenty-three. He had won the rank of captain, and was placed in command of Fort Washington, where he at about the same time married with the daughter

of John Cleves Symmes, whose name is so honorably distinguished as the founder of Cincinnati. Shortly thereafter President Adams appointed him secretary of the North-west Territory, then under the government of St. Clair. After the Territory was organized and entitled to a delegate in Congress, in 1799, Harrison was chosen its representative.

Upon the division of the Territory he was withdrawn from Congress to discharge the duties of governor of the newly formed Territory of Indiana, which included the present States of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin.

At the battle of Tippecanoe, fought November 7, 1811, Harrison gained great renown as a

successful commander against the savages. The intelligence of his victory was received throughout the country with a great outburst of enthusiasm. During the war of 1812 he was made commander of the North-western Army of the United States, and he bore a conspicuous part in the leading events of the campaigns of 1812-13.



WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

In 1814 he was appointed, in conjunction with his companions in arms, Governor Shelby and General Cass, to treat with the Indians of the North-west, at Greenville; and in the following year he was placed at the head of a commission to treat generally with the Indians. In 1816 he was elected to Congress from Ohio, and in 1818 was elected to the United States Senate. In 1828 he was appointed minister plenipotentiary to Colombia, but was recalled upon the accession to the Presidency of General Jackson.

The National Whig Convention of 1836 nominated him for the Presidency, but he was defeated by Van Buren. In 1840 he returned the compliment with interest, receiving two hundred and thirty-four electoral votes against sixty for Van Buren. He was inaugurated on 4th March, 1841, and on the 4th of the following month the American people were bereaved in his death. His last words, heard by his physician, but spoken as if addressed to his successor, are worthy of repetition: "Sir, I wish you to understand the true principles of the government. I wish them carried out. I ask nothing more."

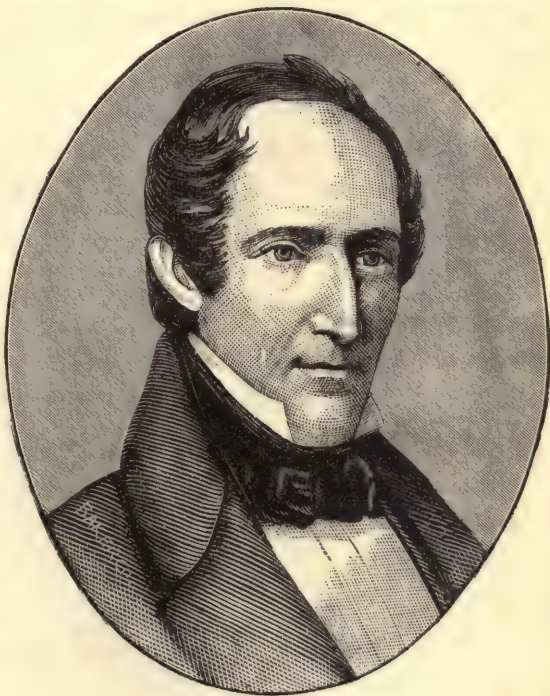
JOHN TYLER.

JOHN TYLER, tenth President of the United States as the constitutional successor of President Harrison, was born at Williamsburg, Virginia, March 29, 1790. At the age of twelve he entered the College of William and Mary, whence he graduated in five years. Then he read law, was admitted to the bar at nineteen; elected to the Virginia

Legislature at twenty-two; sent to Congress at twenty-six; governor of Virginia at thirty-five; United States Senator at thirty-seven. In the latter office he firmly supported the administration of Jackson, voting against the tariff bill of 1828, and against chartering the United States Bank.

President Harrison had called a special session of Congress just previous to his decease, and after Tyler's succession a bill for the establishment of

"The Fiscal Bank of the United States" passed both houses and was sent to the President for signature. He promptly vetoed it. To meet his objections some modifications were made, but he again vetoed the bill. His administration was stormy, and quite unsatisfactory to those to



JOHN TYLER.

whom he was indebted for his election to the Presidency.

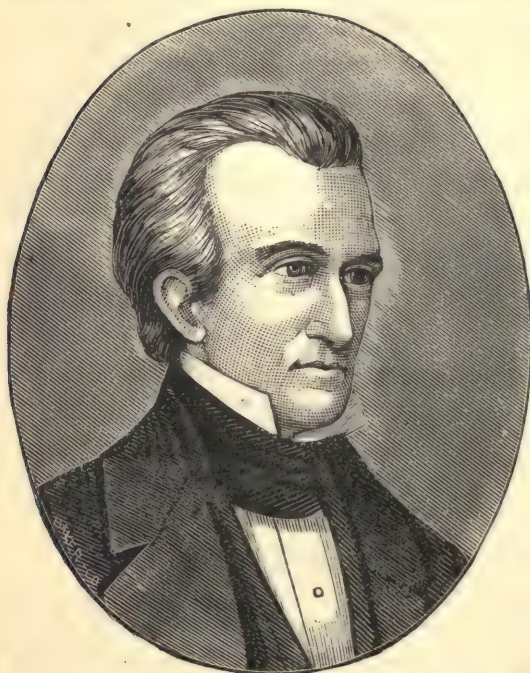
In February, 1861, he was President of the memorable Peace Convention, at Washington. Subsequently he was chosen a Senator from Virginia, in the Confederate Congress. He died on the 18th of January, 1862, at Richmond.

JAMES KNOX POLK.

JAMES K. POLK, eleventh President of the United States, was born in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, November 2, 1795. He did not enjoy the best advantages of elementary instruction, and, therefore, had arrived at the age of twenty before he was fully prepared to enter the

University of North Carolina, at Chapel Hill. Here he was very studious, and graduated in 1818 with the first honors of his class.

He read law with the celebrated Felix Grundy, at Nashville, Tenn., and was admitted to practice in 1820. In 1825 he was elected to Congress from Tennessee, and was a member of the House during four-



JAMES KNOX POLK.

teen successive years. He was one of the strictest of the strict constructionists, opposed to the re-charter of the Bank of the United States; to a protective tariff; to internal improvements; to all enlarged ideas of nationality. He was

chairman of the committee of Ways and Means in Jackson's administration, and at the sessions of 1835-37 was elected Speaker of the House.

In 1839 he was elected governor of Tennessee, and while in this office he recommended to his State a "well-regulated system of internal improvements." At the National Democratic Convention held at Baltimore in 1844, he was nominated for the Presidency, and received the vote of fifteen States to eleven for Clay, giving him a majority of the electoral college of sixty-five.

The leading events of his administration were, the adjustment of the Oregon question with England, and the war with Mexico. One of the results of the war, quite unanticipated, was the development of a candidate for the Presidency as a successor for Mr. Polk, and another, equally unlooked for, was the settlement and wonderful development of California.

Little more than three months after his retirement from the Presidency, June 15, 1849, Mr. Polk died, in the fifty-fourth year of his age.

ZACHARY TAYLOR.

ZACHARY TAYLOR, twelfth President, was born in Orange County, Virginia, November 24, 1784. His early education was limited. In 1808 Jefferson appointed him a lieutenant in the Seventh Infantry. In 1812 he was with General Harrison in the West, and gained credit for his vigorous defense of Fort Harrison, on the Wabash, for which President Madison conferred upon him the rank of major.

He was employed in the various Indian wars. In the Black Hawk War of 1832 he appeared in the field and took an active part as colonel in the concluding battle of Bad Axe River. For distinguished services in the Florida war, in 1836, he was rewarded with the brevet rank of brigadier



ZACHARY TAYLOR.

general, and shortly after with the chief command in the State. He remained in Florida till 1840, when he was assigned to the command of the South-western division of the army, with head-quarters at Fort Jessup, Louisiana. He was ordered to Texas in 1845, and in March of the following

year was directed to advance to the Mexican boundary, the Rio Grande.

On the bank opposite Matamoras he built Fort Brown and established a camp. The commander of the Mexican forces summoned him to retire, which, of course, he refused. A few days thereafter occurred the battle of Palo Alto, fol-

lowed immediately by that of Resaca de la Palma; and in due course the storming of Monterey and the terrible struggle at Buena Vista added fresh laurels to the victorious wreaths of General Taylor.

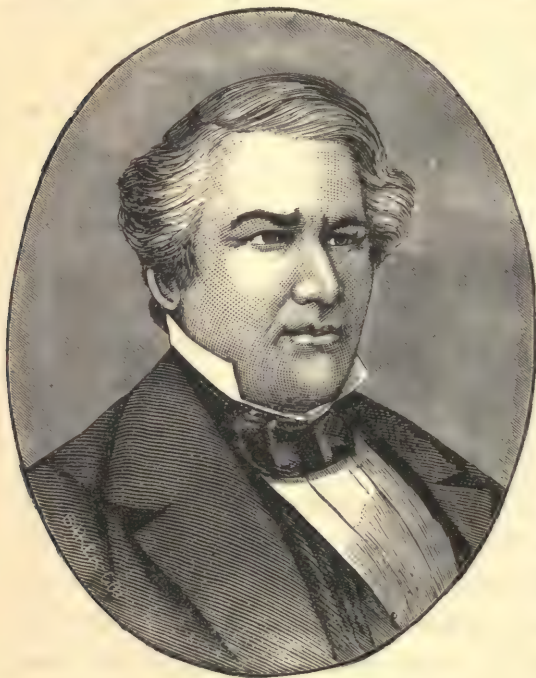
The war closed in 1847, settling all points in dispute between this country and Mexico. In the following year the National Whig Convention nominated General Taylor for the Presidency, and the vote of the electoral college was cast for him to the number of one hundred and sixty-three against one hundred and twenty-seven for General Cass. His short administration was moderate in tone, characterized by deliberation and sound judgment, and his death, after he had held the office but fifteen months, was universally lamented. He died at the executive mansion in Washington, July 9, 1850.

MILLARD FILLMORE.

MILLARD FILLMORE, thirteenth President, as the constitutional successor of President Taylor, deceased, was born in Cayuga County, New York, January 7, 1800. The limited means of his parents denied him the facilities for education, beyond the most ordinary rudiments, and from the age of fifteen to nineteen he was compelled to earn his own subsistence. He then formed the acquaintance of Judge Wood, at Niles, New York, who very generously became his patron, took him into his office, gave him the use of a fine library, and furnished him money to meet necessary expenses while he pursued the study of the law.

At the age of twenty-one he removed to Erie County,

and entered a law-office in Buffalo, and in 1823 he was admitted to the bar and began practice at Aurora. In 1828 he was elected a member of the New York Legislature; in 1833 he was elected to Congress, and also in 1836, 1838 and 1841. Although re-nominated by the Whigs of his district, he declined further re-election. In 1847 he was chosen



MILLARD FILLMORE.

comptroller of New York, and commenced his new duties at Albany at the beginning of 1848, but before the year closed he was nominated and elected Vice-president.

He entered upon the Presidency of the Senate in March, 1849. It was an office whose duties he was well fitted to discharge, and he left behind

him, when he was called to the higher station, a happy impression of his moderation and urbanity. On 9th July, 1850, while Congress was in session, the sudden death of General Taylor devolved upon him the cares and responsibilities of the Presidency. On the 10th, attended by a committee of the two Houses and the members of the late President's

cabinet, the oath of office was administered to him in the hall of Representatives.

Under President Fillmore's administration the boundary between Texas and New Mexico was adjusted, California was admitted, Utah Territory was organized, and the Fugitive Slave Law was enacted. His term closed in March, 1853. The following year he made a tour of the South, and in 1855 visited Europe. In 1856 he was nominated for the Presidency by the "American" party, but received the vote of only the single State of Maryland. He died in 1874.

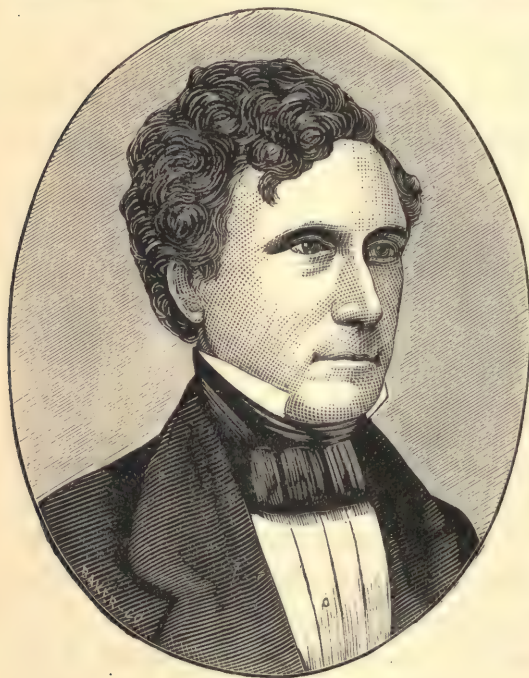
FRANKLIN PIERCE.

FRANKLIN PIERCE, fourteenth President, was born at Hillsboro, New Hampshire, November 23, 1804, and at an early age received the advantages of a liberal education. After taking the collegiate course at Bowdoin, which he entered at the age of sixteen, he was admitted as a student to the office of Judge Woodbury, at Portsmouth, whence he was transferred, at the expiration of a year, to the law school at Northampton, where he remained two years, and then finished his studies with Judge Parker, at Amherst. Although his rise at the bar was not rapid, by degrees he attained the highest rank as a lawyer and advocate.

In 1829 he was elected to represent his native town in the State Legislature, where he served four years, and during the last two was Speaker. From 1833 to 1837 he was a Representative in Congress, and was then elected to the United States Senate, having barely reached the legal age

to qualify him for a seat in that body. At the expiration of his senatorial term he was re-elected, but resigned the following year to devote all his time to his legal practice, which had become very extensive.

In 1846 he declined the office of Attorney-general, tendered by President Polk; but when war with Mexico broke



FRANKLIN PIERCE.

out he was active in raising the New England regiment, and afterwards accepted the commission of brigadier-general, and at once repaired to the scene of conflict, where he was distinguished in several battles. The Democratic Convention at Baltimore, in 1852, unexpectedly nominated him for the Presidency, to

which office he was elected by a large majority.

His administration was marked by no extraordinary events of foreign or domestic policy, except the revival of the slavery agitation in the passage of the Kansas and Nebraska Territorial bill in 1854, setting aside the geographical limit imposed by the compromise of 1850. At the

expiration of his term, March 4, 1857, he returned to New Hampshire and remained in private life to the end of his days, October 8, 1869, when he died greatly lamented.

JAMES BUCHANAN.

JAMES BUCHANAN, fifteenth President of the United States, was born at Stony Buttes, Franklin County, Pennsylvania, April 23, 1791. He was well educated from early youth till his entrance upon public life. At the age of fourteen he entered Dickinson College, at Carlisle. He received his degree in 1809, and three years thereafter was admitted to the bar. Applying himself diligently to his profession, at Lancaster, he early acquired a lucrative practice.

In 1814 he began political life as a member of the Legislature of Pennsylvania. In 1820 he was sent as a Representative to Congress, where he remained ten years, at the expiration of which period he declined a re-election. In 1831 he was appointed minister to Russia, by President Jackson, of whom he was always the consistent friend and supporter, and with that power he negotiated a commercial treaty which proved of great advantage to American commerce.

In December, 1834, he took his seat in the Senate of the United States, and continued a member of that body till 1845, when he accepted the State portfolio in the cabinet of President Polk. He held this responsible position till the expiration of President Polk's term, when he returned to Lancaster. But he did not, by any means, become an

idle spectator of passing events. His letters and speeches prove that he was no less vigilant as a private citizen than as a counselor in the cabinet or a Representative and Senator in Congress.

Upon the accession of Mr. Pierce to the Presidency, in 1853, Mr. Buchanan was appointed minister to England.



JAMES BUCHANAN.

With that country questions were then pending which required great prudence and discrimination for satisfactory adjustment. In his intercourse with the British diplomatists he was not only discreet, but displayed sound sense, courtly forbearance, a just assertion of our rights, and the true dignity of the American character.

So entirely unexceptional was his whole course while abroad, that, on his return to this country, he was received with an almost universal enthusiasm seldom accorded to political men.

In June, 1856, Mr. Buchanan was nominated for the Presidency by the National Democratic Convention at Cin-

cinnati, and although there were powerful elements arrayed against him, he was triumphantly elected. His administration was eventful. It comprised the settlement of the Kansas difficulties, and the advent of secession. Its last year was devoted to preparation for the impending civil war on the part of the South. In December, 1860, occurred the secession of the first of the Southern States. Others soon followed in the same course; and while payment of customs was refused, the national flag dishonored, government property seized, and the crisis fast approaching, Mr. Buchanan held that he had no power to coerce a State, even if it were in rebellion. His embarrassment was extreme. His last months in office were distracted with such troubles as had never before fallen to the lot of a chief magistrate. He had neither the force of character nor the political principle requisite for such an emergency. His timid conservatism was blown about like a feather in the premonitory gusts of the coming tempest. He was seemingly as helpless as a child in the midst of the tremendous complications which were breaking around him. He stood trembling while the last days of his public life were ebbing into the receding gulf of the American Middle Ages. Of the courage of Jackson he had as little as of the prescience and heroic patriotism of his great successor.

At the close of his administration, Mr. Buchanan retired to his home at Wheatland, near Lancaster, Pennsylvania, where his remaining years were spent in the quiet of private life. He died June 1, 1868.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

ABRAMHAM LINCOLN was born in Larue County, Kentucky, February 12, 1809. He was probably descended from the Lincolns of Massachusetts, though his parents were of Quaker stock, and emigrated from Pennsylvania to Rockingham County, Virginia, from which his grandfather, Abraham, removed to Kentucky in 1781.

In 1816 his parents removed to what is now Spencer County, Indiana, and here young Abraham enjoyed a few



ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

months' schooling. It was the only duly organized school he ever attended. Whatever he afterward learned from books was without the aid of the school-master, through his own energy and perseverance. Poverty, hardship, and destitution of modern social advantages, contributed to strengthen the essential elements of greatness within him. The frame-work of his mental and moral being was honesty.

In 1830, just as he had completed his twenty-first year, the family removed to Illinois, and opened and fenced a farm ten miles west of Decatur, in the county of Macon. Abraham had mastered the science of rail-splitting previous to this time, and here his accomplishment was more practically applied than ever before. He performed a full quota of labor in clearing up and fencing the new place. His life was that of an ordinary youth of the frontier till 1832, when the Black Hawk War broke out. He immediately joined a volunteer company, composed principally of the young men of his neighborhood, and was chosen captain by acclamation. He had about him the elements of popularity and those traits of character which mark the leader, and even at this early age the germ of a superior mind was discovered and appreciated. He served to the end of the campaign, and to the day of his death retained ownership of the land upon which his warrants for this service were located.

Immediately upon his return from the Black Hawk campaign he was nominated for membership in the State Legislature, but was defeated. His own precinct, however, cast 277 votes for to 7 against him, and this, too, when he was an avowed and enthusiastic supporter of Mr. Clay, and the same precinct at the election one year thereafter returned a majority of 115 for General Jackson over Mr. Clay. This is the only time that Lincoln ever suffered defeat by a direct vote of the people.

He read law with such diligence that in 1837 he was enabled to form a co-partnership with Major John F. Stuart, of Springfield, who, at that date, was one of the leading

advocates of Illinois. In 1834 Lincoln was elected to the Legislature, and re-elected in 1838 and 1840. He soon became a prominent leader of the Whig party, and was upon the electoral ticket in several presidential campaigns. In 1844 he canvassed the entire State of Illinois in the interest of Mr. Clay, and made every exertion in his power for the distinguished favorite of his party. In 1846 Mr. Lincoln was elected to Congress, and took his seat in December, 1847, the only Whig representative in the National House from his State.

His votes and speeches from this time were invariably liberal—for freedom and opposed to oppression of every kind; in favor of internal improvements; opposed to a declaration of war against Mexico, but in favor of troops and money to carry on the contest after it was begun; in favor of protection to American industry, and all cognate measures.

In June, 1858, a Republican State Convention at Springfield placed Mr. Lincoln in nomination for the United States Senate. Stephen A. Douglas was the Democratic nominee, and a man of more than ordinary ability was wanted to meet him on the stump. The nomination of Lincoln under these circumstances was something more than a compliment. It was not the voice of his constituents merely saying, "We believe you a man of sterling talent, unquestioned integrity, and brilliant legislative ability, and, therefore, we place you in nomination for this great office." It declared with emphasis to this effect: "You are the best man our party has among all the distinguished men of the State to meet a political casuist who has no superior in the world; who is justly entitled the Rienzi of the American forum. We put

you forward as the champion of our principles against a master of political strategy, an intellectual giant, and heartily pray for your victory."

We need not make lengthy reference to the contest which ensued. Its fame is wider than the country. It was a series of the most wonderful engagements of mind with mind; of the most versatile and interesting debates of a vexed question it was ever the fortune of the American people to hear; comprising the most daring achievements of logical reasoning and forensic pyrotechnics that ever characterized a similar campaign. The result was a senatorship for Mr. Douglas, and, substantially, the Presidency for Mr. Lincoln.

At the National Republican Convention, in 1860, he was nominated a candidate for the Presidential office, and triumphantly elected over three rival candidates, Breckenridge, Douglas, and Bell. The platform of the convention by which Mr. Lincoln was nominated was explicit upon the principles and objects of the party. The highest devotion was expressed for the Union, but there seemed to be an underlying fear that the Union was in danger of attack from the opposing party. The most noteworthy part of the declaration was contained in these words :

"To the Union of the States, this Nation owes its unprecedented increase in population; its surprising development of material resources; its rapid augmentation of wealth; its happiness at home and its honor abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may; and we congratulate the country that no Republican member of Congress has uttered or countenanced

a threat of disunion, so often made by Democratic members of Congress without rebuke, and with applause, from their political associates; and we denounce those threats of disunion in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendancy, as denying the vital principles of a free government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason, which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people strongly to rebuke *and forever silence.*"

Mr. Lincoln was inaugurated on 4th March, 1861. His inaugural address recommended him to the favorable consideration of all reasonable men, as well as to the highest regard of his party. He counseled conciliation between the sections, but so far as the effect upon the South was concerned, he might as well have counseled war. Substantially the South had declared war already. Their leaders had threatened that if Lincoln was inaugurated the slave States would leave the Union—not that they meant this, but they imagined that a terrible threat from them would as usual prove effective. They had ruled Northern doughfaces so long by the power of words that nothing stronger was deemed necessary; but Mr. Lincoln had been inaugurated notwithstanding, and now the South would leave us to fight the battle of government alone. Not quite. There was power and determination and intelligent foresight in the new administration, where weakness, timidity and misdirection had been hoped for by Disunionists and their sympathizers.

But we could not part company with the Sunny South. It was in direct opposition to the genius of our republican institutions to nurture children so long and then permit them to break away from wholesome restraint and go incontinent to the dogs. Four years of bloody war was waged against the

government by the Disunionists, and then they were brought back repentant and forlorn. They were years of great anxiety and immense toil to the great and good President, who, although fully conversant with the forms and practices of peaceful government when he came to the office, was compelled to learn the art of war; the means for raising great armies and placing over them effective and trustworthy officers; the appliances for paying this immense force, and the conduct of civil affairs in a way which would best adapt them to the new and strange conditions. Through it all President Lincoln toiled with an eye single to the best good of the whole country, and went wearily forward to his fate. "With malice toward none, with charity for all," were the memorable words of his address at the second inauguration, on 4th March, 1865, "with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the Nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and orphans; to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

The peace that seemed so desirable to him when these words were uttered was near at hand, but he, alas! was destined to enjoy none of its fruits. General Lee surrendered the principal rebel army to Grant on the 9th of April, and on the 14th President Lincoln was assassinated by John Wilkes Booth, a natural son of the Slavocratic rebellion. That so good a life should go out into the night of the Unknown by the hand of a vulgar desperado—who was simply the agent of a plot only partially explored—is grief indeed; and at a time when the country

and the world were ready to say, "Well done, good and faithful servant; enter thou into the peace and joys of the kingdom!"

Hon. James G. Blaine, in his "Twenty Years of Congress," thus refers to the subject of our sketch:

"Mr. Lincoln was calm and philosophic. He loved the truth for the truth's sake. He would not argue from a false premise, or be deceived himself or deceive others by a false conclusion. He had pondered deeply on the issues which aroused him to action. He had given anxious thought to the problems of free government and to the destiny of the Republic. He had for himself marked out a path of duty, and he walked in it fearlessly. His mental processes were slower, but more profound, than those of Douglas. He did not seek to say merely the thing that was best for that day's debate, but the thing which would stand the test of time and square itself with eternal justice. He wished nothing to appear white unless it was white. His logic was severe and faultless. He did not resort to fallacy, and could detect it in his opponent, and expose it with merciless directness. He had an abounding sense of humor, and always employed it in illustration of his argument—never for the mere sake of provoking merriment. In this respect he had the wonderful aptness of Franklin. He often taught a great truth with the felicitous brevity of an *Æsop* fable. His words did not flow in an impetuous torrent as did those of Douglas, but they were always well chosen, deliberate, and conclusive."

Again, he says:

"Mr. Lincoln united firmness and gentleness in a singu-

lar degree. He rarely spoke a harsh word. Ready to hear argument and always open to conviction, he adhered tenaciously to the conclusions which he had finally reached. Altogether modest, he had confidence in himself, trusted to the reasoning of his own mind, believed in the correctness of his own judgment. Many of the popular conceptions concerning him are erroneous. No man was farther than he from the easy, familiar, jocose character in which he is so often painted. While he paid little attention to form or ceremony, he was not a man with whom liberties could be taken. There was but one person in Illinois, outside of his own household, who ventured to address him by his first name. There was no one in Washington who ever attempted it. Appreciating wit and humor, he relished a good story, especially if it illustrated a truth or strengthened an argument, and he had a vast fund of illustrative anecdote, which he used with the happiest effect. But the long list of vulgar, salacious stories attributed to him were retailed only by those who never enjoyed the privilege of exchanging a word with him. His life was, altogether, a serious one, inspired by the noblest spirit, devoted to the highest aims. Humor was but an incident with him, a partial relief to the melancholy which tinged all his years. He presented an extraordinary combination of mental and moral qualities. As a statesman, he had the loftiest ideal, and it fell to his lot to inaugurate measures which changed the fate of millions of living men, of tens of millions yet to be born. As a manager of political issues and master of the art of presenting them, he has had no rival in this country, unless one be found in Jefferson."

He speaks in the highest terms of his executive talent, his superb self-reliance, the wonderful breadth of his religious toleration, combined with his reverence and his painful sense of responsibility.

“ He had a most silver flow
Of subtle-poised counsel in distress
Right to the heart and brain, though undescried,
Winning its way with extreme gentleness
Through all the outworks of suspicious pride.”

A recent writer furnishes the following interesting and discriminating estimate of the great man :

“Whoever shall write a faithful biography of Abraham Lincoln, up to the time when he entered upon his duties as Chief Magistrate, will make an invaluable contribution to American history. Besides showing the healthy unfolding from youth to mature manhood of one of the richest types of American character which this Western world has produced since its evolution from barbarism, such a work must necessarily set forth the growth and development of what may be called the constitutional side or phase of the anti-slavery agitation, dating from the time nearly fifty years ago, when Abraham Lincoln and Dan. Stone placed upon the legislative records of Illinois their protest against pro-slavery legislation. He who shall tell this story of Lincoln's life will be a chronicler worthy of a crown of laurel.

“When that story is told, the ignorant, coarse, bare-footed rail-splitter, bearing the stamp of ignoble birth, the keen backwoods pettifogger, the joke monger of the cross-roads coterie, the ‘Uncle Abe’ who had a mythical popularity with the groundlings, will disappear; and in place

thereof will emerge the respectably born, and well-bred youth, proud and self-containing in the midst of poverty, as dignified in every respect as the young Washington, never descending in all the years of youth or manhood to an ambiguous action or an ambiguous policy; thoughtful, studious, ambitious, energetic, persistent; availing himself of every opportunity (not at all rare in Illinois in his day) of associating with the gifted in mind and the accomplished in manners; manifesting at the very entrance upon his majority qualities of statesmanship in no way unworthy to be compared to those of the younger Pitt; early trusted by the people with their confidence, repaying that confidence with never-failing faithfulness to their interests; and through nearly thirty years of mingling in public life, ten years of which were in a legislative capacity, addressing himself with clearness, cogency, and unsurpassed eloquence to the discussion and elucidation of important issues of civil polity.

“Abraham Lincoln was one statesman in a thousand in respect of never having changed his position upon the political questions of his day. When he changed from the Whig into the Republican party—or rather, when he bridged over the chasm from a moribund to a formative party, by carrying over the discussion of the same issues he had for years elucidated by his statesmanlike analysis and his elevated eloquence—he kept his record intact. The slavery question was no new one to him; and the issue raised by the Kansas-Nebraska question, therefore, found him ready to meet it at every point. In 1854, after Mr. Douglas had introduced his celebrated bill for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise,

Mr. Lincoln headed the movement in Illinois against the great Democratic senator and leader, and by a discussion equally as masterful as that of four years later, laid strong the foundations of the Republican party.

“Then came the senatorial canvass of 1858, in which, according to the popular notion, Mr. Lincoln first manifested those qualities which stamped him with a national character. In the estimation of those who had heard him during the score of years preceding that canvass, there were many of his previous efforts that surpassed those of this world-renowned debate. As one evidence in support of this assertion, reference may be had to one of the members of the present Supreme Bench of Illinois, an old Whig colleague of Mr. Lincoln's, who declared as his deliberate judgment, that Mr. Lincoln's speeches during this canvass were inferior to those he had delivered during any political season in his career. While Mr. Lincoln's efforts that day were but consistent with and a logical sequence of all he had ever uttered on the slavery question, yet they were unsatisfactory to the extremists of Northern Illinois, many of whom had come out of the Democratic party and had defended or apologized for slavery while Mr. Lincoln had been bearing testimony against it.

“It was the very fact that Mr. Douglas was not able, at Freeport, a radical stronghold, to induce Mr. Lincoln to vary one hair's breadth from the position he had maintained in the more conservative central and southern portions of Illinois that Mr. Lincoln's logical triumph lay at Freeport (together of course, with the fact that he drew out the damaging ‘unfriendly legislation’ admission from Douglas), rather

than in any extra-masterful dialectics of Lincoln on that occasion. It was because he was true to his intellectual greatness, and had that moral consistency which, united with and over topping political consistency, made him equal to the supreme occasion, that gave him the advantage over Douglas. It was the old Lincoln and the old Douglas pitted against each other as they had often been pitted before, but with Douglas off his guard and with new and untried weapons, or at least in a new armor. This is the secret of Freeport.

“The Cooper Institute speech in New York of the winter immediately preceding his nomination was, although one of the grandest efforts of American oratory, but the capstone of the edifice that Lincoln had for a generation been slowly, deliberately, studiously, earnestly, building—an edifice of character and genius upon which the fame of that great man should eventually rest, rather than upon the acts of a period during which he was hampered by annoying and prejudicial circumstances, which tended to repress or deflect his mighty genius.”

Following is the anti-slavery protest referred to in the first paragraph of the foregoing essay :

MARCH 3, 1837.

“Resolutions upon the subject of domestic slavery having passed both branches of the general assembly, the undersigned hereby protest against the passage of the same.

“They believe that the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy ; but that the promulgation of abolition doctrines tends rather to increase than abate its evils.

“They believe that the Congress of the United States has no

power, under the Constitution, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the different States.

"They believe that the Congress of the United States has the power, under the Constitution, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia ; but that the power ought not to be exercised unless at the request of the people of said District.

"The difference between these opinions and those contained in the said resolutions, is their reason for entering this protest.

"DAN. STONE,

"A. LINCOLN,

"Representatives from the County of Sangamon."

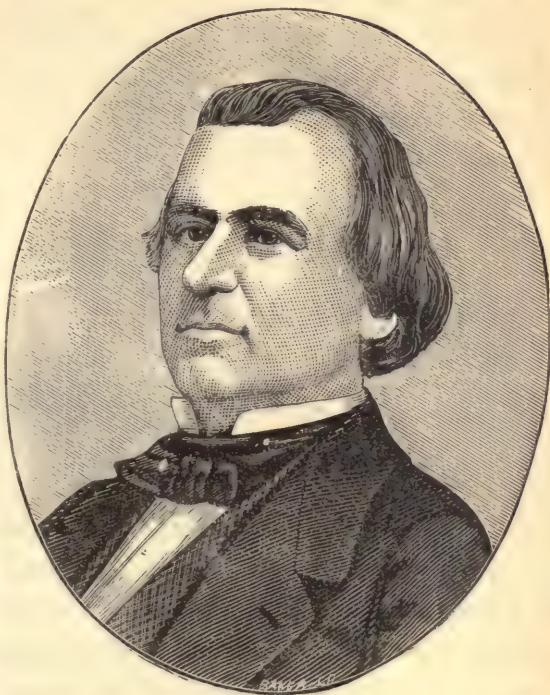
ANDREW JOHNSON.

ANDREW JOHNSON, seventeenth President, was born at Raleigh, North Carolina, December 29, 1808. At the age of ten he was apprenticed to a tailor, and worked at that business in South Carolina till his seventeenth year. He never attended school, but acquired a good common education by studying without a teacher.

Having removed to Greenville, Tennessee, he was chosen mayor of that city in 1830. In 1835 he was elected to the State Legislature, and to the State Senate in 1841. In 1843 he was elected to Congress, and served ten years in the House. In 1853 he was elected governor of Tennessee, and re-elected in 1855. In 1857 he was elected to the United States Senate for the term ending with 1863. In politics he was a Democrat, and supported Breckenridge and Lane in the presidential election of 1860. At the outbreak of the rebellion he declared for the Union and supported the

measures of the administration. In 1862 President Lincoln appointed him military governor of Tennessee. In 1864 he was nominated by the National Republican Convention for the Vice-presidency and duly elected.

Upon his accession to the Presidency, consequent upon the assassination of President Lincoln, the war was substantially closed, and the work of reconstruction, restoration, and the reduction of the great military and naval force then



ANDREW JOHNSON.

employed, were the problems of his administration. His views did not coincide with those of the majority in Congress, and his administration was therefore agitated and stormy. In February, 1868, articles impeaching the President passed the House, and the Senate, after due deliberation, resolved itself in a court, and tried him upon these articles. In the following May the vote was taken upon three of the articles—there were eleven in all—and resulted in an affirmative vote by thirty-five Senators and a negative

of nineteen. As two-thirds was required to convict, he was acquitted upon these, and the vote upon the remainder was indefinitely postponed.

At the close of his term he returned to his home in Tennessee, to again mingle in the political contests of the State. He died July 31, 1875.

ULYSSES SIMPSON GRANT.

ULYSSES SIMPSON GRANT, eighteenth President, was born at Point Pleasant, Clermont County, Ohio, April 27, 1822. His early youth was spent at his native place, and he acquired the rudiments of an English education near Georgetown, in Brown County. In 1839 he was admitted to the military academy at West Point, whence he graduated June 30, 1843. It is said he exhibited no peculiar aptness for the studies at West Point, but that what he acquired was through indefatigable industry and hard work.

July 1, 1843, he entered the army as brevet second-lieutenant, and was attached to the Fourth Infantry. He served under General Taylor, and afterwards under General Scott, in the Mexican war. For gallant and meritorious conduct at the battle of Chapultepec, Lieutenant Grant received a brevet of captain in the regular army, to date from September 13, 1847, and a full commission of captain, dating from August, 1853. July 31, 1854, Captain Grant resigned his commission in the army, settled in St. Louis, and engaged in commercial pursuits till 1859, when he removed to Galena, Illinois.

Upon the breaking out of rebellion in the spring of 1861, Grant offered his services to the country through Governor Yates, of Illinois. He was appointed on the governor's staff as mustering officer of volunteers. June 15, 1861, the governor appointed him to the colonelcy of the Twenty-first Illinois Regiment, and on the 23d of the following August he was detailed from the com-



ULYSSES SIMPSON GRANT.

mand of this regiment and appointed a brigadier-general of United States volunteers, with rank and commission from May 17, 1861.

As a reward for his skill and gallantry during the campaigns in Kentucky and Tennessee, he was promoted to the rank of major-general of volunteers, to date from the surrender of Fort Donelson, February 16, 1862; and, after the capture of Vicksburg, he was made a brigadier-general, and subsequently a major-general, in the regular army. The Thirty-eighth Congress revived the rank of lieutenant-gen-

eral, and the President, after the passage of the bill, nominated General Grant for the position. This nomination was unanimously confirmed by the Senate March 2, 1864, and on the 8th of the same month the general arrived in Washington, received his commission from the hand of President Lincoln on the 9th, and on the 10th assumed command of the armies, with "head-quarters in the field." April 9, 1865, he received the surrender of General Lee and the main body of the army of secession.

His successes in the field in terminating the rebellion, with the good sense and ability, mingled firmness and moderation, which he had uniformly displayed as a leader of events, marked him as the inevitable candidate for the Presidency of the party to whom had fallen the conduct of the war; and when the National Republican Convention met at Chicago in May, 1868, he was unanimously nominated for the highest office in the gift of freemen. He was elected by the vote of twenty-six States, and by a popular majority exceeding three hundred thousand.

His administration was very generally in accord with the action of Congress and the prevailing sentiment of the people. Among the leading features of its domestic policy was the gradual restoration to the South of its privileges forfeited by the necessities of war, and the reduction of the public debt; while its foreign policy secured the negotiation of the treaty of arbitration with England for the settlement of claims arising from the negligence or wrong-doing of that country in relation to certain questions of international law during the rebellion.

In 1872 he was again chosen by the Republican party

as their candidate for the Presidency, and this time received the vote of thirty-one States, giving him a popular majority of more than seven hundred and fifty thousand. His second administration was conservative and conciliatory, and almost invariably in accord with Congress and the people, and in 1877 he retired with the general commendation, "Well done, good and faithful servant." Shortly thereafter he made his great trip around the world, and was everywhere received with distinguished honor. Recently he has been engaged in business in New York, where several years ago he took his residence.

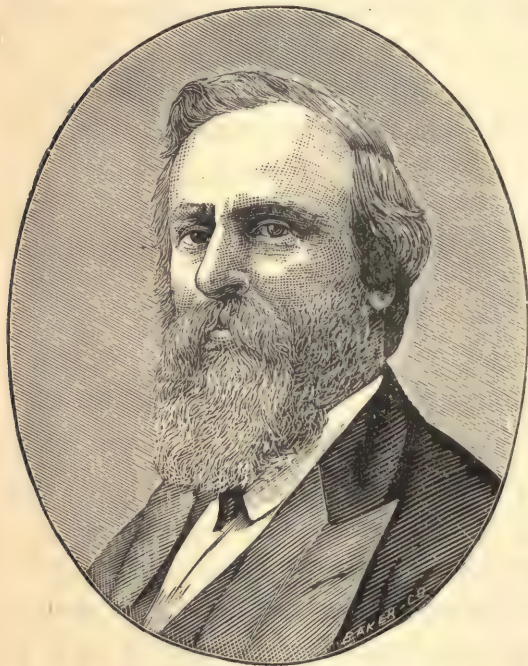
RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD HAYES.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, nineteenth President, was born at Delaware, Ohio, October 4, 1822. He received many advantages of instruction in youth, and at the age of sixteen was admitted to Kenyon College, at Gambier, Ohio, whence he graduated in 1842, at the head of his class. He chose the law as a profession, and immediately began its study in the office of Thomas Sparrow, at Columbus. Subsequently he took a course in the Harvard Law School, at Cambridge, Massachusetts. During a session of the courts at Marietta, in 1845, he was admitted to the bar, and pursued the practice of law at Fremont, Ohio, for about four years.

In 1849 he removed to Cincinnati, where he enjoyed a large practice. In 1858 he was appointed city solicitor by council, to fill a vacancy. He accepted this position with

much reluctance, but so well did he perform its duties that at the next election he was chosen by the people to continue the exercise of its functions by an unprecedented majority.

In 1861 he entered the army as major of the Twenty-third Regiment Ohio Volunteers, with which he reached



RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

Clarksburg, West Virginia, July 27, 1861, where the regiment was assigned to the duty of protecting the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, and defending the border from raids. This duty and occasional scouting in the neighborhood occupied the entire season and the following summer. Meanwhile Hayes had been promoted

to a lieutenant-colonelcy, and in August, 1862, his regiment was added to General J. D. Cox's division in the Army of the Potomac.

The battle of South Mountain was fought September 14, 1862, and during the engagement Colonel Hayes's arm was shattered by a grape-shot. This wound kept him in the

hospital several weeks. Late in the season he, as acting brigadier-general, was placed in command of the Kanawha division of the army, to which the Twenty-third Ohio was attached. A raid was made by a portion of his force in the vicinity of Saltville, and many miles of railway destroyed. He also took a hand in the interception of John Morgan, as he was attempting to leave Ohio by crossing the river above Pomeroy.

Early in 1864 the battle of Cloyd Mountain was fought; in July Lynchburg was attacked, followed by the battles of Berryville, Winchester, and North Mountain—in all of which General Hayes took conspicuous part. In fact, he participated in all the subsequent engagements of the Shenandoah campaign, and was brevetted major-general “for gallant and distinguished services during the campaigns of 1864 in West Virginia, and particularly in the battles of Fisher’s Hill and Cedar Creek.”

In 1864, while yet in the army, he was elected to represent the Second Congressional District of Ohio, in the National House. He refused to serve till all the fighting was done necessary to suppress the rebellion, and abided by this resolution; but took his seat at the opening of the session of 1865–66. He was re-elected in 1866. In 1867 he was nominated and elected governor of Ohio, and again in 1869. In 1875 his party called upon him once more to make the State campaign, and for the third time he was elected to the gubernatorial office.

June 14, 1876, he was nominated by the National Republican Convention, at Cincinnati, for the Presidency, and in the succeeding election the vote was so close that an

electoral commission was instituted to ascertain the rights of opposing candidates. After careful investigation of all matters in dispute, General Hayes was declared elected, and he was duly inaugurated on March 4, 1877.

His administration was distinguished for its conciliatory tone, its ready recognition of the rights of those recently in arms against the government, and a determined movement for reform in the civil service. At the expiration of his term he retired to his home at Fremont, and has not since entered public life.

JAMES ABRAM GARFIELD.

JAMES A. GARFIELD, twentieth president, was born November 19, 1831. Before he had attained his second year his father died, leaving the mother with four children—the eldest but ten years—impaired health, and a mortgaged homestead. Nevertheless, she resolved to succeed, and history proves the heroism of her exertions.

Severe toil was the birthright of all the children, and nobly did they improve it. But they found time and opportunity to acquire the rudiments of an English education, and James was especially fond of books. His spare hours—few enough they were—invariably found him at study. He grew up, through the clearing, the corn-field, the tow-path, and the log school-house, to enter college in 1854. Here he remained but two years, but they were well employed.

In 1859 he was elected to the Ohio Senate. In 1861 he entered the army as lieutenant-colonel of the Forty-second Ohio. In January, 1862, a force under his command drove Humphrey Marshall and several thousand Confederates out of Kentucky. For this service he was made a



JAMES ABRAM GARFIELD.

brigadier-general. Through his entire army life his success was proverbial, and when he finally became General Rosecrans's chief of staff, his judgment and advice were valued as highly as the counsel of any officer in the regular army.

In 1862 he was elected to represent his district in Congress, and at the solicitation of many friends, President Lincoln among them, he consented to leave the army and take his seat in the House. This he did in December, 1863, and he remained a member of Congress for sixteen years. In January, 1880, he was unanimously elected by the Ohio Legislature a Senator of the United States, but the National Republican Convention of 1880 nominated him for the Presidency, and therefore he did not fill the Senatorship.

He received 214 of the electoral votes, against 155 for his opponent. His inaugural address, on March 4, 1881, gave promise of an administration of great vigor, which would bring about some needed reforms and greatly improve the civil service. His cabinet was selected with rare judgment, and his appointments, so far as they were made, gave satisfaction to the country. He had the affairs of the Nation well in hand, and as he was about to indulge in a short vacation for needed rest, on July 2, 1881, he was shot down by a vulgar assassin, and died from his wound on the 19th of the following September. No death was ever more heartily mourned.

CHESTER ALLAN ARTHUR,

CHESTER A. ARTHUR, twenty-first President, as the constitutional successor of President Garfield, was born in Franklin County, Vermont, October 5, 1830. He was educated at Union College, and graduated in the class of

'49. In 1851 he entered the office of Judge E. D. Culver, in New York, as a student of the law. After admission to the bar, he met with great success in the practice of his profession.



CHESTER ALLAN ARTHUR.

Previous to the outbreak of the rebellion, he was judge-advocate of the Second Brigade New York State Militia, and Governor Morgan, soon after his inauguration, selected him as engineer-in-chief of his staff. In 1861 he held the post of inspector-general, and soon after was advanced to that of quartermaster-general.

It was through General Arthur's efforts and influence that Hon. Thomas Murphy was made State Senator in New York. Upon the resignation, by the latter, of the collectorship of the port of New York, November 20, 1871, President Grant nominated General Arthur to the position, and four years later, when his term expired, renominated him—an honor that had never been shown to any previous collector in the history of the port. He was removed by President Hayes, July 12, 1878, despite the fact that two special committees made searching investigations of his administration, and both reported their inability to find any thing upon which to base a charge against him.

Immediately upon his removal, President Hayes offered him the consul-generalship at Paris. In a letter acknowledging a tender of the office, General Arthur expressed his appreciation of the compliment, and his regret that his private interests were in such a condition that he could not accept it. At the National Republican Convention, at Chicago, in June, 1880, he was nominated for the Vice-presidency on the first ballot, by the vote of 475 delegates to 276 for eight opposing candidates. His letter of acceptance, written on the fifteenth of the following month, was a well-considered document, and attracted attention for the large grasp of ideas and their clear expression. Immediately following the death of President Garfield, General Arthur was invested with the presidential office, and assumed his new duties at once. His administration has been vigorous without offense, and thorough without radicalism. Its record will occupy a desirable page in the annals of the country.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

Unanimously adopted by the Convention at Chicago, June 5, 1884

THE Republicans of the United States in National Convention assembled renew their allegiance to the principles upon which they have triumphed in six successive presidential elections, and congratulate the American people on the attainment of so many results in legislation and administration by which the Republican party has, after saving the Union, done so much to render its institutions just, equal, and beneficent, the safeguard of liberty, and the embodiment of the best thought and highest purposes of our citizens.

The Republican party has gained its strength by quick and faithful response to the demands of the people for the freedom and equality of all men; for a united Nation, assuring the rights of all citizens; for the elevation of labor; for an honest currency; for purity in legislation; and for integrity and accountability in all departments of the government. And it accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform.

We lament the death of President Garfield, whose sound statesmanship, long conspicuous in Congress, gave promise of a strong and successful Administration, a promise fully realized during the short period of his office as President of the United States. His distinguished services in war and peace have endeared him to the hearts of the American

people. In the Administration of President Arthur we recognize a wise, conservative, and patriotic policy, under which the country has been blessed with remarkable prosperity; and we believe his eminent services are entitled to and will receive the hearty approval of every citizen.

It is the first duty of a good government to protect the rights and promote the interests of its own people. The largest diversity of industry is the most productive of general prosperity, and of the comfort and independence of the people. We therefore demand that the imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made, not for revenue only, but that in raising the requisite revenues for the government such duty shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just reward, and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity. Against the so-called economic system of the Democratic party, which would degrade our labor to the foreign standard, we enter our most earnest protest. The Democratic party has failed completely to relieve the people of the burden of unnecessary taxation by a wise reduction of the surplus. The Republican party pledges itself to correct the irregularities of the tariff and to reduce the surplus, not by the vicious and indiscriminating process of horizontal reduction, but by such methods as will relieve the tax-payer without injuring the laborer or the great productive interests of the country.

We recognize the importance of sheep-husbandry in the United States, the serious depression which it is now experiencing, and the danger threatening its future prosperity; and we, therefore, respect the demands of the representatives of this important agricultural interest for a re-adjust-

ment of duties upon foreign wool in order that such industry shall have full and adequate protection.

We have always recommended the best money to the civilized world, and we urge that efforts should be made to unite all commercial nations in the establishment of an international standard which shall fix for all the relative value of gold and silver coinage.

The regulation of commerce with foreign nations and between the States is one of the most important prerogatives of the General Government, and the Republican party distinctly announces its purpose to support such legislation as will fully and efficiently carry out the constitutional power of Congress over inter-State commerce.

The principle of the public regulation of railway corporations is a wise and salutary one for the protection of all classes of the people, and we favor legislation that shall prevent unjust discrimination and excessive charges for transportation, and that shall secure to the people and the railways alike the fair and equal protection of the laws.

We favor the establishment of a National Bureau of Labor; the enforcement of the eight-hour law; a wise and judicious system of general education by adequate appropriation from the national revenues wherever the same is needed. We believe that everywhere the protection of a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption, and we favor the settlement of national differences by international arbitration.

The Republican party, having its birth in a hatred of slave labor and a desire that all men may be truly free and equal, is unalterably opposed to placing our workingmen in competition with any form of servile labor, whether at home or abroad. In this spirit we denounce the importation of

contract labor, whether at home or abroad, as an offense against the spirit of American institutions, and we pledge ourselves to sustain the present law, restricting Chinese immigration, and to provide such further legislation as is necessary to carry out its purpose.

Reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under Republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the object of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers of free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided..

The public lands are a heritage of the people of the United States, and should be reserved, as far as possible, for small holdings of actual settlers. We are opposed to the acquisition of large tracts of these lands by corporations or individuals, especially where such holdings are in the hands of non-resident aliens, and we will endeavor to obtain such legislation as will tend to correct this evil.

We demand of Congress the speedy forfeiture of all land-grants which have lapsed by reason of non-compliance with acts of incorporation in all cases where there has been no attempt in good faith to perform the conditions of such grants.

The grateful thanks of the American people are due to the Union soldiers and sailors of the late war, and the Republican party stands pledged to suitable pensions for all who were disabled and for the widows and orphans of those who died in the war. The Republican party also pledges

itself to the repeal of the limitation contained in the Arrears Act of 1879, so that all invalid soldiers shall share alike and their pensions begin with the date of disability and not with the date of application.

The Republican party favors a policy which shall keep us from entangling alliances with foreign nations, and which gives us the right to expect that foreign nations shall refrain from meddling in American affairs—a policy which seeks peace and trade with all powers, and especially with those of the Western Hemisphere.

We demand the restoration of our navy to its old-time strength and efficiency, that it may in any high sea protect the rights of American citizens and the interests of American commerce. We call upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed, so that it may again be true that we have a commerce which leaves no sea unexplored and a navy which takes no law from superior force.

Resolved, That the appointment by the President to offices in the Territories should be made from the *bona fide* citizens and residents of the Territories wherein they are to serve.

Resolved, That it is the duty of Congress to enact such laws as shall promptly and effectually suppress the system of polygamy within our Territories, and divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power of the so-called Mormon Church, and that the law so enacted should be rigidly enforced by the civil authorities, if possible, and by the military, if need be.

The people of the United States, in their organized capacity, constitute a Nation, and not a mere confederation of States. The National Government is supreme within the

sphere of national duties, but the States have reserved rights which should be faithfully maintained, and which should be guarded with jealous care, so that the harmony of our system of government may be preserved, and the Union kept inviolate.

The perpetuity of our institutions rests upon the maintenance of a free ballot, an honest count, and correct returns. We denounce the fraud and violence practiced by the Democracy in Southern States, by which the will of the voter is defeated, as dangerous to the preservation of free institutions; and we solemnly arraign the Democratic party as being the guilty recipient of the fruits of such fraud and violence.

We extend to the Republicans of the South, regardless of their former party affiliations, our cordial sympathy, and pledge to them our most earnest efforts to promote the passage of such legislation as will secure to every citizen, of whatever race and color, the full and complete recognition, possession, and exercise of all civil and political rights.

NOMINATING SPEECHES.

THE formal nomination of James G. Blaine for the Presidency of the United States was made by Judge West, of Ohio, at Chicago, June 5, 1884. The nominating address is as follows :

"Gentlemen of the Convention: As a delegate in the Chicago Convention of 1860, the proudest service of my life was performed by voting for the nomination of that inspired emancipator, the first Republican President of the United States. Four and twenty years of the grandest history in the annals of recorded time have distinguished the ascendancy of the Republican party. The skies have lowered ; reverses have threatened ; our flag is still there, waving above the mansion of the Presidency ; not a stain on its folds, not a cloud on its glory. Whether it shall maintain that grand ascendancy depends on the action of this great council. With bated breath the Nation awaits the result. On it are fixed the eyes of twenty millions of Republican freemen in the North. On it, or to it, are stretched forth the imploring hands of ten millions of political bondmen in the South—while above, from the portals of light, is looking down the immortal spirit of the immortal martyr who first bore it to victory and bade it God speed. Six times—in six campaigns—has that banner triumphed. That symbol of union, of freedom, of humanity, and of progress, some time borne by that silent man of destiny, the Wellington of American arms,

Ulysses the Great—and last by him whose untimely taking-off the Nation bewailed and wept above great Garfield's grave:—shall that banner triumph again? Commit it to the bearing of that chief, the inspiration of whose illustrious character and great name will fire the hearts of our young men and stir the blood of our manhood and fervid veterans. The close of the seventh campaign will see that holy ensign spanning the sky like a bow of promise. Political conditions are changed since the accession of the Republican party to power. The mighty issues of struggling freedom and bleeding humanity, which convulsed the continent and racked the Republic, united, inspired the forces, the patriotism, and the force of humanity in one consolidated phalanx. These great issues have ceased their contention; the subordinate issues resulting therefrom are settled and buried away with the dead issues of the past. The odds of a Solid South are against us. Not an electoral gun can be expected from that section. If triumph come, the North—the Republican States of the North—must furnish the conquering battalion; from the farm, the anvil, and the loom; from the mine, the workshop, and the desk; from the huts of the trapper on snowy Sierra, from the hut of the fisherman on the banks of the Hudson. As the Republican States must furnish this conquering battalion, if triumphant, does not sound political wisdom dictate and demand that a leader shall be given to them whom our people will follow, not as conscripts advancing by funeral marches to certain defeat, but a grand civic hero, whom the souls of the people desire to serve—swelling the lines with the enthusiasm of volunteers as they sweep on and onward to certain victory? In this contention of forces,

to whom as a candidate shall be intrusted our battle-flag? Citizens, I am not here to—and may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth if I—abate one tittle from the just fame, integrity, and public honor of Chester A. Arthur, our President. I abate not one tittle from the just fame and Republican integrity of George F. Edmunds; of Joseph R. Hawley, of John Sherman, of that grand old Black Eagle of Illinois; and I am proud to know that these distinguished Senators whom I have named have borne like testimony to the public life, the public character, and the public integrity of him for whose confirmation they voted to the high office, second in dignity to the office of the President himself—the first premiership in the administration of James A. Garfield. The man for whom these Senators and rivals will vote for Secretary of State of the United States is good enough for the plain flesh-and-blood God's people to vote for for President. Who shall be our candidate?

“Not the representative of a particular interest, or a particular class, send the great apostle to the country. Name the doctors' candidate, the lawyers' candidate, the bankers' candidate, the Wall Street candidate, and the hand of resurrection would not fathom his November grave. Sir, he must be a representative of American manhood—a representative of that leading Republicanism that demands the amplest industrial protection and opportunity whereby labor shall be enabled to earn and eat the bread of independent enjoyment, relieved of mendicant competition with pauper Europe or Pagan Chinese. He must be a representative of that Republicanism that demands the absolute political, as well as personal, emancipation and disenthralment of man-

kind; a representative of that Republicanism which recognizes the stamp of American citizenship as the passport to every right, privilege, and consideration at home or abroad, whether under the sky of Bismarck, under the palmetto, under the pelican, or on the banks of the Mohawk—that Republicanism that regards with detestation a despotism which under the “*sic semper tyrannis*” of the Old Dominion annihilates by slaughter in the name of Democracy; a Republicanism that is embodied and stated in the platform of principles this day adopted by your convention. Gentlemen, such a Republican is James G. Blaine, of Maine.”

[The immense concourse then broke out into great and continued applause, continuing nearly half an hour.]

“Gentlemen of the convention, it has been urged that in making this nomination every other consideration should merge every other interest be sacrificed, in order and with a view exclusively to securing the Republican vote and carrying the State of New York. Gentlemen, the Republican party demands of this convention a nominee who has inspiration, a glorious prestige which shall gain the Presidency with or without New York; who will carry the Legislatures of the several States and avert the sacrifice of the United States Senate; who shall sweep into the tide Congressional districts sufficient to recover the House of Representatives and restore it to the Republican party. Three millions of Republicans believe that that man who, from the baptism of blood on the plains of Kansas to the fall of the immortal Garfield, in all that struggle of manhood and progress wherever humanity desired succor, wherever freedom called for protection, wherever the country called for a defender,

or wherever blows fell thickest and fastest, there in the forefront of the battle was seen to wave the white plume of James G. Blaine, our Henry of Navarre.

“Nominate him, and results of a September victory in Maine will be re-echoed back by the thunders of the October victory in Ohio. Nominate him, and the camp-fires and beacon lights will illuminate the Continent from the Golden Gate to Cleopatra’s Needle. Nominate him, and the millions who are now in waiting, will rally to swell the column of victory that is sweeping on.

“In the name of the majority of the delegates from the Republican States, and their glorious constituencies who must fight this battle, I nominate James G. Blaine, of Maine.” [Great and long-continued applause.]

General John A. Logan was named for the presidential office, at Chicago, June 5, 1884, by Senator Shelby M. Cullom, of Illinois. The Senator’s speech is herewith reproduced :

“*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:* Twenty-four years ago the Second National Convention of the Republican party met in this city and nominated its first successful candidate for President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln. Abraham Lincoln led the Republican party to its first great victory, and stands to-day in the estimation of the world as the grandest figure and most majestic figure in all modern time. Again, in 1868, another Republican convention came together in this city, and nominated as its candidate for President of the United States, another eminent citizen of Illinois, Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, and the Re-

publican party was again victorious. Still again, in 1880, the Republican party turned its face toward this political mecca, where two successful campaigns had been organized, and the martyred Garfield led the Republican hosts to another glorious victory. Mr. President and fellow-citizens, it is good for us to be here. There are omens of victory in the air. History repeats itself. There are promises of triumph to the Republican party in holding its national nominating conventions in this great emporium of the North-west.

“The Commonwealth of Illinois, which has never wavered in its devotion to Republican principles since it gave to the Nation—aye, to the world—the illustrious Lincoln, has commissioned me, through its Republican voters, to present to this convention, for its consideration, as the standard-bearer of the Republican party, another son of Illinois, one whose name will be recognized from one end of this land to the other as an able statesman, a brilliant soldier, and an honest man, Gen. John A. Logan, of Illinois.

“He is a native of the State which he now represents in the councils of the Nation. Reared among the youth of a section where every element of manhood is early brought into play, he is eminently a man of the people, identified with them in interest, in taste, and in feeling, and enjoying their sympathy, respect, and confidence. The safety, the permanency, and the prosperity of the Nation depend upon the courage, the integrity, the intelligence, and the loyalty of its citizens. When yonder starry flag was assailed by enemies in arms, when the integrity of the Union was imperiled by organized treason, when the storm of war threat-

ened the very life of this Nation, this gallant son of the Prairie State resigned his seat in the Congress of the United States, returned to his home, and was among the first of our citizens to raise a regiment, and to march to the front in defense of his country. Like Douglas, he believed that in time of war, men must be either patriots or traitors, and he threw his mighty influence on the side of the Union, and Illinois made a record second to none in the history of States, in the struggle to preserve this government.

“Among the large number of the brave soldiers of the late war, whose names are proudly written on the scroll of fame, none appear more grandly than the name of Logan. His history is a part of the history of the battles of Belmont, of Donelson, of Shiloh, of Vicksburg, of Lookout Mountain, of Atlanta, and of the famous March to the Sea. He never lost a battle. I repeat again, Mr. President and fellow-citizens, he never lost a battle in all the struggles of the war. When there was fighting to be done he did not wait for orders, neither did he fail to obey orders when received. His plume, like the white plume of Henry of Navarre, was always to be seen at the point where the battle raged the hottest. During the long struggle of four years, he commanded, by authority of the government, first a regiment, then a brigade, then a division, then an army corps, and finally an army. He remained in the service until the war closed, when, at the head of his army, with the scars of battle upon him, he marched into the capital of the Nation, and, with the brave men whom he had led on a hundred hard-fought fields, was mustered out of service under the very shadow of the Capitol building which he had left four years before as a

member of Congress, to go out and fight the battles of his country.

"Then, when the war was over, and gentle peace, which 'hath her victories,' returned, he was again called by his fellow-citizens to take his place in the councils of the Nations. In a service of twenty years in both Houses of Congress he has shown himself to be no less able and distinguished as a statesman than he was renowned as a soldier. Cautious, prudent, conservative in the advocacy of measures involving the public welfare, ready and eloquent in debate, fearless—yes, I repeat again, fearless—in defense of the rights of the weak against the oppressions of the strong, he stands to-day—and I say it without disposition to pluck one laurel from the brow of any man whose name may be presented to this convention—I say he stands to-day in my judgment closer to the great mass of the people of this country than almost any other man now engaging public attention. No man has done more in defense of those principles which have given life, and spirit, and victory to the Republican party than has John A. Logan, of Illinois. In all that goes to make up a brilliant military and civil career and to commend a man to the favor of the people, he, whose name we have presented here to-night has shown himself to be the peer of the best.

"We ask, you, therefore, to give him this nomination because he would not be assailed and he is not assailable. We ask you to nominate him because his public record is so clean that even political calumny dare not attack it. We ask you to nominate him in behalf of the hundreds of thousands of brave veteran volunteer soldiers who are to-night,

all over this broad land, standing around the telegraph offices waiting to know whether that gallant leader of the volunteer soldiers of this country is to receive the nomination at your hands. We ask you to nominate him in behalf of the white and black Republicans of the South who are here by the hundreds appealing to this convention, as the representative of our grand old party, to give your protection and to vindicate them in their rights in the South.

“Now, my friends, standing in the midst of this vast assembly of representative citizens of this grand Republic—aye, in the sublime presence of the people themselves, represented here to-night in all their majesty—we offer you the name of a tried hero and patriot, the sagacious and incorruptible statesman, the man who, as we all know, never sulked in his tent; we offer you General John A. Logan, of Illinois, and ask you to make him your nominee. If you will give him the nomination he will give you a glorious victory in November next; and when he shall have taken his position as President of this great Republic you may be assured you will have an administration in the interest of labor, in the interest of education, in the interest of commerce, in the interest of finance, in the interest of peace at home and peace abroad, and in the interest of the prosperity of this great people.”

No speech of the same length in the English language ever occasioned such a furore as that of Hon. Robert G. Ingersoll in presenting the name of James G. Blaine for the presidential nomination, at the Cincinnati convention in

June, 1876. It is in persistent demand everywhere, and is herewith reproduced for permanent preservation :

“Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: The Republicans of the United States demand as their leader in the great contest of 1876 a man of intelligence, a man of well-known and approved political opinions. They demand a statesman; they demand a reformer after as well as before the election. They demand a politician in the highest, broadest, and best sense—a man of superb moral courage. They demand a man acquainted with public affairs, with the wants of the people; with not only the requirements of the hour, but with the demands of the future.

“They demand a man broad enough to comprehend the relations of the government to the other nations of the earth. They demand a man well versed in the powers, duties and prerogatives of each and every department of this government. They demand a man who will sacredly preserve the financial honor of the United States; one who knows enough to know that the National debt must be paid through the prosperity of this people; one who knows enough to know that all the financial theories in the world can not redeem a single dollar; one who knows enough to know that all the money must be made, not by law, but by labor; one who knows enough to know that the people of the United States have the industry to make the money, and the honor to pay it over just as fast as they make it.

“The Republicans of the United States demand a man who knows that prosperity and resumption, when they come, must come together; that when they come they will

come hand in hand through the golden harvest fields ; hand in hand by the whirling spindles and the turning wheels ; hand in hand past the open furnace doors ; hand in hand by the chimneys filled with eager fire, greeted and grasped by the countless sons of toil.

“ This money has to be dug out of the earth. You can not make it by passing resolutions in a political convention.

“ The Republicans of the United States want a man who knows that this government should protect every citizen, at home and abroad ; who knows that any government that will not defend its defenders and protect its protectors is a disgrace to the map of the world. They demand a man who believes in the eternal separation and divorcement of Church and school. They demand a man whose political reputation is as spotless as a star ; but they do not demand that their candidate shall have a certificate of moral character signed by a Confederate Congress. The man who has in full-heaped and rounded measure all these splendid qualifications is the present grand and gallant leader of the Republican party—James G. Blaine.

“ Our country, crowned with the vast and marvelous achievements of its first century, asks for a man worthy of the past and prophetic of her future ; asks for a man who has the audacity of genius ; asks for a man who is the grandest combination of heart, conscience, and brain beneath her flag—such a man is James G. Blaine. For the Republican host, led by this intrepid man, there can be no defeat.

“ This is a grand year—a year filled with recollections of the Revolution ; filled with the proud and tender memories of the past ; with the sacred legends of liberty—a year

in which the sons of freedom will drink from the fountains of enthusiasm; a year in which the people call for a man who has preserved in Congress what our soldiers won upon the field; a year in which they call for the man who has torn from the throat of treason the tongue of slander—for the man who has snatched the mask of Democracy from the hideous face of rebellion; for this man, who, like an intellectual athlete, has stood in the arena of debate and challenged all comers, and who is still a total stranger to defeat.

“Like an armed warrior, like a plumed knight, James G. Blaine marched down the halls of the American Congress and threw his shining lance full and fair against the brazen foreheads of the defamers of his country and the maligners of his honor. For the Republican party to desert this gallant leader now is as though an army should desert their general upon the field of battle.

“James G. Blaine is now, and has been for years, the bearer of the sacred standard of the Republican party. I call it sacred because no human being can stand beneath its folds without becoming and without remaining free.

“Gentlemen of the convention, in the name of the great Republic, the only republic that ever existed upon this earth; in the name of all her defenders and of all her supporters; in the name of all her soldiers living; in the name of all her soldiers dead upon the field of battle, and in the name of those who perished in the skeleton-clutch of famine at Andersonville and Libby, whose sufferings he so vividly remembers, Illinois—Illinois nominates for the next President of this country that prince of parliamentarians—that leader of leaders—James G. Blaine.”

SUMMARY OF POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTES

For President and Vice-president of the United States, 1789—1880.

Year of Election..	No. of States	Total Elec'l Votes.	POLITICAL PARTY.	* PRESIDENTS.			* VICE-PRESIDENTS.	
				CANDIDATES.	VOTE.		CANDIDATES.	Electoral Vote.
					States.....	Popular.		
1789	10	73		George Washington....		69		
				John Adams.....				34
				John Jay.....				9
				R. H. Harrison.....				6
				John Rutledge.....				4
				John Hancock.....				4
				George Clinton.....				3
				Samuel Huntingdon..				2
				John Milton.....				2
				James Armstrong....				1
				Benjamin Lincoln....				1
				Edward Telfair.....				1
				Vacancies.....		4		4
1792	15	135	Federalist....	George Washington....		132		
			Federalist....	John Adams.....				77
			Republican..	George Clinton.....				50
				Thomas Jefferson....				4
				Aaron Burr.....				1
				Vacancies.....		3		3
1796	16	138	Federalist....	John Adams.....		71		
			Republican..	Thomas Jefferson....				68
			Federalist....	Thomas Pinckney....				59
			Republican..	Aaron Burr.....				30
				Samuel Adams.....				15
				Oliver Ellsworth....				11
				George Clinton.....				7
				John Jay.....				5
				James Iredell.....				3
				George Washington..				2
				John Henry.....				2
				S. Johnson.....				2
				Charles C. Pinckney..				1
1800	16	138	Republican..	Thomas Jefferson....		173		
			Republican..	Aaron Burr.....				173
			Federalist....	John Adams.....				65
			Federalist....	Charles C. Pinckney..				64
				John Jay.....				1

* Previous to the election of 1804 each elector voted for two candidates for President ; the one receiving the highest number of votes, if a majority, was declared elected President ; and the next highest, Vice-president.

† Three States out of thirteen did not vote, viz.: New York, which had not passed an electoral law ; and North Carolina, and Rhode Island, which had not adopted the Constitution.

‡ There having been a tie vote, the choice devolved upon the House of Representatives. A choice was made on the 36th ballot, which was as follows: Jefferson—Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Vermont, and Virginia—10 States; Burr—Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Rhode Island—4 States; Blank—Delaware and South Carolina—2 States.

Summary of Popular and Electoral Votes—Continued.

Year of Election...	No. of States.....	Total Elect Vote.	POLITICAL PARTY.	PRESIDENTS.			VICE-PRESIDENTS.	
				CANDIDATES.	VOTE.		CANDIDATES.	Electoral Vote.
					States.....	Popular.		
1804	17	176	Republican..	Thomas Jefferson.....	15	162	George Clinton.....	162
			Federalist....	Charles C. Pinckney....	2	14	Rufus King.....	14
1808	17	176	Republican..	James Madison.....	12	122	George Clinton.....	113
			Federalist....	Charles C. Pinckney....	5	47	Rufus King.....	47
				George Clinton.....	6	6	John Langdon.....	9
							James Madison.....	3
							James Monroe.....	3
				Vacancy.....		1		1
1812	18	218	Republican..	James Madison.....	11	128	Elbridge Gerry.....	131
			Federalist....	De Witt Clinton.....	7	89	Jared Ingersoll.....	86
				Vacancy.....		1		1
1816	19	221	Republican..	James Monroe.....	16	183	D. D. Tompkins.....	183
			Federalist....	Rufus King.....	3	34	John E. Howard.....	22
							James Ross.....	5
							John Marshall.....	4
							Robert G. Harper....	3
				Vacancies.....		4		4
1820	24	235	Republican..	James Monroe.....	24	231	D. D. Tompkins.....	218
			Opposition...	John Q. Adams.....		1	Richard Stockton....	8
							Daniel Rodney.....	4
							Robert G. Harper....	1
							Richard Rush.....	1
				Vacancies.....		3		3
1824	24	261	Republican..	Andrew Jackson.....	10	155,872	John C. Calhoun.....	182
			Coalition.....	John Q. Adams.....	8	105,321	Nathan Sanford.....	30
			Republican..	Wm. H. Crawford.....	3	44,282	Nathaniel Macon.....	24
			Republican..	Henry Clay.....	3	46,587	Andrew Jackson.....	13
							M. Van Buren.....	9
							Henry Clay.....	2
				Vacancy.....				1
1828	24	261	Democratic..	Andrew Jackson.....	15	647,231	John C. Calhoun.....	171
			Nat. Repub..	John Q. Adams.....	9	509,097	Richard Rush.....	83
							William Smith.....	7
1832	24	288	Democratic..	Andrew Jackson.....	15	687,502	M. Van Buren.....	189
			Nat. Repub..	Henry Clay.....	7	530,189	John Sergeant.....	49
				John Floyd.....	1	41	Henry Lee.....	11
			Anti-Mason	William Wirt.....	1	33,108	Amos Ellmaker.....	7
							William Wilkins.....	30
				Vacancies.....		2		12
1836	26	294	Democratic..	Martin Van Buren.....	15	761,549	R. M. Johnson†.....	147
			Whig.....	Wm. H. Harrison.....	7	70	Francis Granger.....	77
			Whig.....	Hugh L. White.....	2	20	John Tyler.....	47
			Whig.....	Daniel Webster.....	1	14	William Smith.....	23
			Whig.....	W. P. Mangum.....	1	11		

*No choice having been made by the Electoral College, the choice devolved upon the House of Representatives. A choice was made on the first ballot, which was as follows: Adams—Connecticut, Illinois, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Missouri, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, Rhode Island, and Vermont—13 States; Jackson—Alabama, Indiana, Mississippi, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Tennessee—7 States; Crawford—Delaware, Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia—4 States.

†No candidate having received a majority of the votes of the Electoral College, the Senate elected R. M. Johnson Vice-president, who received 33 votes; Francis Granger received 16 votes.

Summary of Popular and Electoral Votes—Continued.

Year of Election...	No. of States.....	Total Elec- t. Vote.	POLITICAL PARTY.	PRESIDENTS.				VICE-PRESIDENTS.	
				CANDIDATES.	VOTE.			CANDIDATES.	Electoral Vote.
					States.....	Popular.	Electoral		
1840	26	294	Whig.....	Wm. H. Harrison.....	19	1,275,017	234	John Tyler.....	234
			Democratic..	Martin Van Buren.....	7	1,128,702	60	R. M. Johnson.....	48
			Liberty.....	James G. Birney.....	..	7,059	..	L. W. Tazewell.....	11
					..	..	..	James K. Polk.....	1
1844	26	275	Democratic..	James K. Polk.....	15	1,337,243	170	Geo. M. Dallas.....	170
			Whig.....	Henry Clay.....	11	1,299,068	105	T. Frelinghuysen.....	105
			Liberty.....	James G. Birney.....	..	62,300	..		
1848	30	290	Whig.....	Zachary Taylor.....	15	1,360,101	163	Millard Fillmore.....	163
			Democratic..	Lewis Cass.....	15	1,220,544	127	Wm. O. Butler.....	127
			Free Soil.....	Martin Van Buren.....	..	291,263	..	Chas. F. Adams.....	..
1852	31	296	Democratic..	Franklin Pierce.....	27	1,601,474	254	Wm. R. King.....	254
			Whig.....	Winfield Scott.....	4	1,389,578	42	Wm. A. Graham.....	42
			Free Dem....	John P. Hale.....	..	156,149	..	Geo. W. Julian.....	..
1856	31	296	Democratic..	James Buchanan.....	19	1,838,169	174	J. C. Breckinridge.....	174
			Republican..	John C. Fremont.....	11	1,341,264	114	Wm. L. Dayton.....	114
			American....	Millard Fillmore.....	1	874,534	8	A. J. Donelson.....	8
1860	33	303	Republican..	Abraham Lincoln.....	17	1,866,352	180	Hannibal Hamlin.....	180
			Democratic..	J. C. Breckinridge.....	11	845,743	72	Joseph Lane.....	72
			Cons. Union	John Bell.....	3	589,581	39	Edward Everett.....	39
			Ind. Dem....	S. A. Douglas.....	2	1,375,157	12	H. V. Johnson.....	12
1864	36	314	Republican..	Abraham Lincoln.....	22	2,216,067	212	Andrew Johnson.....	212
			Democratic..	Geo. B. McClellan.....	3	1,808,725	21	G. H. Pendleton.....	21
				Vacancies.....	11	..	81		81
1868	37	317	Republican..	Ulysses S. Grant.....	26	3,015,071	214	Schuyler Colfax.....	214
			Democratic..	Horatio Seymour.....	8	2,709,613	80	F. P. Blair, Jr.....	80
				Vacancies.....	3	..	23		23
1872	37	366	Republican..	Ulysses S. Grant.....	31	3,597,070	286	Henry Wilson.....	286
			Dem. & Lib..	Horace Greely.....	6	2,834,079	..	B. Gratz Brown.....	47
			Democratic..	Charles O'Connor.....	..	29,408	..	Geo. W. Julian.....	5
			Temperance	James Black.....	..	5,608	..	A. H. Colquitt.....	5
				Phos. A. Hendricks.....	..	..	42	John M. Palmer.....	3
				B. Gratz Brown.....	..	..	18	T. E. Bramlette.....	3
				Charles J. Jenkins.....	..	..	2	W. S. Groesbeck.....	1
				David Davis.....	..	..	1	Willis B. Machen.....	1
				† Not Counted.....	..	..	17	N. P. Banks.....	1
					..	..	..		14
1876	38	369	Republican..	Rutherford B. Hayes.....	21	4,033,950	185	Wm. A. Wheeler.....	185
			Democratic..	Samuel J. Tilden.....	17	4,284,885	184	T. A. Hendricks.....	184
			Greenback...	Peter Cooper.....	..	81,740	..		..
			Prohibition.	Green Clay Smith.....	..	9,522	..		..
				Scattering.....	..	2,636	..		..
1880	38	369	Republican..	James A. Garfield.....	19	4,449,053	214	Chester A. Arthur.....	214
			Democratic..	Winfield S. Hancock.....	19	4,442,035	155	Wm. H. English.....	155
			Greenback...	James B. Weaver.....	..	307,306	..	B. J. Chambers.....	..
				Scattering.....	..	12,576	..		..

* Eleven States did not vote, viz.: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia.

† Three States did not vote, viz.: Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia.

‡ Three electoral votes of Georgia cast for Horace Greely, and the votes of Arkansas, 6, and Louisiana, 8, cast for U. S. Grant, were rejected. If all had been included in the count, the electoral vote would have been 300 for U. S. Grant, and 66 for opposing candidates.

POPULAR VOTE AT THE ELECTION OF 1880 AND 1876.

STATES.	1880.		1876.	
	Hancock. Dem.	Garfield. Rep.	Tilden. Dem.	Hayes. Rep.
Alabama,	90,687	56,178	102,002	68,230
Arkansas,	60,489	41,661	58,071	38,669
California,	80,426	80,348	76,465	79,269
Colorado,	24,647	27,450	By Legislature.	
Connecticut,	64,417	67,073	61,934	59,034
Delaware,	15,183	14,150	13,381	10,752
Florida,	27,964	23,654	22,923	23,849
Georgia,	102,522	52,648	130,088	50,446
Illinois,	277,321	318,037	258,601	278,232
Indiana,	225,528	232,164	213,526	208,011
Iowa,	105,845	183,904	112,099	171,327
Kansas,	59,789	121,520	37,902	78,322
Kentucky,	147,999	104,550	159,690	97,156
Louisiana,	65,310	37,994	70,508	75,135
Maine,	65,171	74,039	49,823	66,300
Maryland,	93,706	78,515	91,780	71,981
Massachusetts,	111,900	165,205	108,777	150,063
Michigan,	131,300	185,190	141,095	166,534
Minnesota,	53,315	93,903	48,799	72,962
Mississippi,	75,750	34,854	112,173	52,605
Missouri,	208,609	153,567	203,077	145,029
Nebraska,	28,523	54,979	17,554	31,916
Nevada,	9,611	8,732	9,308	10,383
New Hampshire,	40,794	44,852	38,509	41,539
New Jersey,	122,565	120,555	115,962	103,517
New York,	534,511	555,544	521,949	489,207
North Carolina,	124,204	115,878	125,427	108,417
Ohio,	340,821	375,048	323,182	330,698
Oregon,	19,948	20,619	14,149	15,206
Pennsylvania,	407,428	444,704	366,158	384,122
Rhode Island,	10,779	18,195	10,712	15,787
South Carolina,	112,312	58,071	90,906	91,870
Tennessee,	128,191	107,677	133,166	89,566
Texas,	156,228	57,845	104,755	44,800
Vermont,	18,181	45,090	20,254	44,092
Virginia,	127,976	84,020	139,670	95,558
West Virginia,	57,391	46,243	56,455	42,698
Wisconsin,	114,634	144,397	123,927	130,668
Total,	4,442,035	4,449,053	4,284,757	4,033,950
Plurality,		7,018	250,807	
All others,		319,882		93,298
Total vote,		9,210,970		8,412,605

POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTE FOR PRESIDENT, 1880.

STATES.	Garfield. Rep.	Hancock. Dem.	Weaver. Gr.	Scat- tering.	Total Popular Vote.	Electoral vote.		
						Gar- field.	Han- cock.	To- tal.
Alabama,	56,178	90,687	4,642	...	151,507	..	10	10
Arkansas,	41,661	60,489	4,079	...	106,229	..	6	6
California,	80,348	80,426	3,392	...	164,166	1	5	6
Colorado,	27,450	24,647	1,435	...	53,532	3	..	3
Connecticut, . . .	67,073	64,417	868	412	132,770	6	..	6
Delaware,	14,150	15,183	...	...	29,333	..	3	3
Florida,	23,654	27,964	...	...	51,618	..	4	4
Georgia,	52,648	102,522	481	...	155,651	..	11	11
Illinois,	318,037	277,321	26,358	596	622,312	21	..	21
Indiana,	232,164	225,528	12,986	...	470,678	15	..	15
Iowa,	183,904	105,845	32,327	630	322,706	11	..	11
Kansas,	121,520	59,789	19,710	...	201,019	5	..	5
Kentucky,	104,550	147,999	11,498	257	264,304	..	12	12
Louisiana,*	37,994	65,310	439	...	97,201	..	8	8
Maine,†	74,039	65,171	4,408	235	143,853	7	..	7
Maryland,	78,515	93,706	818	...	173,039	..	8	8
Massachusetts, . .	165,205	111,960	4,548	799	282,512	13	..	13
Michigan,	185,190	131,300	34,795	1,156	352,441	11	..	11
Minnesota,	93,903	53,315	3,267	286	150,771	5	..	5
Mississippi,	34,854	75,750	5,797	677	117,078	..	8	8
Missouri,	153,567	208,609	35,045	...	397,221	..	15	15
Nebraska,	54,979	28,523	3,853	...	87,355	3	..	3
Nevada,	8,732	9,611	...	...	18,343	..	3	3
New Hampshire, . .	44,852	40,794	528	189	86,363	5	..	5
New Jersey,	120,555	122,565	2,617	191	245,928	..	9	9
New York,	555,544	534,511	12,373	2,177	1,104,605	35	..	35
North Carolina, . .	115,878	124,204	1,136	...	241,218	..	10	10
Ohio,	375,048	340,821	6,456	2,642	724,967	22	..	22
Oregon,	20,619	19,948	249	...	40,816	3	..	3
Pennsylvania, . . .	444,704	407,428	20,668	1,983	874,783	29	..	29
Rhode Island, . . .	18,195	10,779	236	25	29,235	4	..	4
South Carolina, . .	58,071	112,312	566	7	170,956	..	7	7
Tennessee,	107,677	128,191	5,916	43	241,827	..	12	12
Texas,	57,845	156,228	27,405	...	241,478	..	8	8
Vermont,	45,090	18,181	1,212	110	64,593	5	..	5
Virginia,	84,020	127,976	139	...	212,135	..	11	11
West Virginia, . . .	46,243	57,391	9,079	...	112,713	..	5	5
Wisconsin,	144,397	114,634	7,980	161	267,172	10	..	10
Total,	4,449,053	4,442,035	307,306	12,576	9,204,428	214	155	369
Plurality,	7,018	...	...	...	...	59	...	...
Per cent,	48.26	48.25	3.33	.13	...	58.00	42.00	...

*In Louisiana, two Republican Electoral tickets were voted for: the regular Republican, and the Beattie or Grant Republican. The latter received about 9,740 votes, not returned in the first table published.

†In Maine the Hancock Electoral ticket was styled "Fusion," containing 3 Democratic and 4 Greenback Electors. Besides this a "Straight" Greenback Electoral ticket was voted for, with Weaver's name at the head.

PRESIDENTS AND THEIR CABINETS.

PRESIDENTS.		VICE-PRESIDENTS.	
NAME.	QUALIFIED.	NAME.	QUALIFIED.
George Washington	April 30, 1789	John Adams . . .	June 3, 1789
George Washington	March 4, 1793	John Adams . . .	Dec. 2, 1793
John Adams . . .	March 4, 1797	Thomas Jefferson .	March 4, 1797
Thomas Jefferson .	March 4, 1801	Aaron Burr . . .	March 4, 1801
Thomas Jefferson .	March 4, 1805	George Clinton . .	March 4, 1805
James Madison . .	March 4, 1809	George Clinton* .	March 4, 1809
James Madison . .	March 4, 1813	Wm. H. Crawford†	April 10, 1812
James Monroe . . .	March 4, 1817	Elbridge Gerry* .	March 4, 1813
James Monroe . . .	March 5, 1821	John Gaillard† . .	Nov. 25, 1814
John Quincy Adams	March 4, 1825	Daniel D. Tompkins	March 4, 1817
Andrew Jackson . .	March 4, 1829	Daniel D. Tompkins	March 5, 1821
Andrew Jackson . .	March 4, 1833	John C. Calhoun . .	March 4, 1825
Martin Van Buren .	March 4, 1837	John C. Calhoun† .	March 4, 1829
William H. Harrison*	March 4, 1841	Hugh L. White† .	Dec. 28, 1832
John Tyler	April 6, 1841	Martin Van Buren	March 4, 1833
James K. Polk . . .	March 4, 1845	Richard M. Johnson	March 4, 1837
Zachary Taylor* . .	March 5, 1849	John Tyler	March 4, 1841
Millard Fillmore . .	July 9, 1850	Samuel L. Southard†	April 6, 1841
Franklin Pierce . .	March 4, 1853	Willie P. Mangum†	May 31, 1842
James Buchanan . .	March 4, 1857	George M. Dallas .	March 4, 1845
Abraham Lincoln .	March 4, 1861	Millard Fillmore .	March 5, 1849
Abraham Lincoln* .	March 4, 1865	William R. King† .	July 11, 1850
Andrew Johnson . .	April 15, 1865	William R. King* .	March 4, 1853
Ulysses S. Grant . .	March 4, 1869	David R. Atchison†	April 18, 1853
Ulysses S. Grant . .	March 4, 1873	Jesse D. Bright† .	Dec. 5, 1854
Rutherford B. Hayes	March 5, 1877	John C. Breckinridge	March 4, 1857
James A. Garfield .	March 4, 1881	Hannibal Hamlin .	March 4, 1861
Chester A. Arthur .	Sept. 20, 1881	Andrew Johnson .	March 4, 1865
		Lafayette S. Foster†	April 15, 1865
		Benjamin F. Wade†	March 2, 1867
		Schuyler Colfax . .	March 4, 1869
		Henry Wilson* . . .	March 4, 1873
		Thomas W. Ferry†	Nov. 22, 1875
		William A. Wheeler	March 5, 1877
		Chester A. Arthur	March 4, 1881
		David Davis . . .	Oct. 13, 1881

On the 6th of April, 1841, John Tyler succeeded to the presidency, on the death of William Henry Harrison. Millard Fillmore was the second Vice-president to occupy the presidential office. On the 9th of July, 1850, he was summoned, by the death of Zachary Taylor, to assume the duties of President. By the assassination of President Lincoln, on the 14th of April, 1865, Vice-president Andrew Johnson was, on the following day, raised to the chief magistracy. In like manner Chester A. Arthur was, on the 20th of September, 1881, called to the presidency by the death of James A. Garfield.

* Died in office. † Acting Vice-president and President *pro tem.* of the Senate
 † Resigned the Vice-presidency December 28, 1832.

Secretaries of State.

NAME.	APPOINTED.	NAME.	APPOINTED.
Thomas Jefferson .	Sept. 26, 1789	Daniel Webster .	April 6, 1841
Thomas Jefferson .	March 4, 1793	Hugh S. Legare .	May 9, 1843
Edmund Randolph .	Jan. 2, 1794	Abel P. Upshur .	July 24, 1843
Timothy Pickering .	Dec. 10, 1795	John C. Calhoun .	March 6, 1844
Timothy Pickering .	March 4, 1797	James Buchanan .	March 6, 1845
John Marshall . . .	May 13, 1800	John M. Clayton .	March 7, 1849
James Madison . . .	March 5, 1801	Daniel Webster . .	July 22, 1850
James Madison . . .	March 4, 1805	Edward Everett . .	Nov. 6, 1852
Robert Smith . . .	March 6, 1809	William L. Marcy .	March 7, 1853
James Monroe . . .	April 2, 1811	Lewis Cass	March 6, 1857
James Monroe . . .	March 4, 1813	Jeremiah S. Black .	Dec. 17, 1860
John Quincy Adams .	March 5, 1817	William H. Seward .	March 5, 1861
John Quincy Adams .	March 5, 1821	William H. Seward .	March 4, 1865
Henry Clay	March 7, 1825	William H. Seward .	April 15, 1865
Martin Van Buren .	March 6, 1829	Elihu B. Washburne .	March 5, 1869
Edward Livingston .	May 24, 1831	Hamilton Fish . .	March 11, 1869
Louis McLane . . .	May 29, 1833	Hamilton Fish . .	March 4, 1873
John Forsyth . . .	June 27, 1834	William M. Evarts .	March 12, 1877
John Forsyth . . .	March 4, 1837	James G. Blaine . .	March 5, 1881
Daniel Webster . . .	March 5, 1841	F. T. Frelinghuysen	Dec. 12, 1881

Secretaries of the Treasury.

NAME.	APPOINTED.	NAME.	APPOINTED.
Alexander Hamilton	Sept. 11, 1789	Walter Forward .	Sept. 13, 1841
" "	March 4, 1793	John C. Spencer .	March 3, 1843
Oliver Wolcott . . .	Feb. 2, 1795	George M. Bibb .	June 15, 1844
" "	March 4, 1797	Robert J. Walker .	March 6, 1845
Samuel Dexter . . .	Jan. 1, 1801	Wm. M. Meredith .	March 8, 1849
Albert Gallatin . . .	May 14, 1801	Thomas Corwin . .	July 23, 1850
" "	March 4, 1809	James Guthrie . .	March 7, 1853
" "	March 4, 1813	Howell Cobb . . .	March 6, 1857
George W. Campbell .	Feb. 9, 1814	Philip F. Thomas .	Dec. 12, 1860
Alexander J. Dallas .	Oct. 6, 1814	John A. Dix . . .	Jan. 11, 1861
William H. Crawford .	Oct. 22, 1816	Salmon P. Chase .	March 7, 1861
" "	March 5, 1817	Wm. Pitt Fessenden	July 1, 1864
" "	March 5, 1821	Hugh McCulloch .	March 7, 1865
Richard Rush . . .	March 7, 1825	" "	April 15, 1865
Samuel D. Ingham .	March 6, 1829	George S. Boutwell	March 11, 1869
Louis McLane . . .	August 2, 1831	Wm. A. Richardson	March 17, 1873
William J. Duane . .	May 29, 1833	Benj. H. Bristow .	June 4, 1874
Roger B. Taney . . .	Sept. 23, 1833	Lot M. Morrill . .	July 7, 1876
Levi Woodbury . . .	June 27, 1834	John Sherman . . .	March 8, 1877
" "	March 4, 1837	William Windom .	March 5, 1881
Thomas Ewing . . .	March 5, 1841	Charles J. Folger .	Oct. 27, 1881
" "	April 6, 1841		

Secretaries of War.

NAME.	APPOINTED.	NAME.	APPOINTED.
Henry Knox	Sept. 12, 1789	John C. Spencer . . .	Oct. 12, 1841
" "	March 4, 1793	James M. Porter . . .	March 8, 1843
Timothy Pickering .	Jan. 2, 1795	William Wilkins . . .	Feb. 15, 1844
James McHenry . . .	Jan. 27, 1796	William L. Marcy . . .	March 6, 1845
" "	March 4, 1797	George W. Crawford .	March 8, 1849
Samuel Dexter	May 13, 1800	Charles M. Conrad . .	Aug. 15, 1850
Roger Griswold . . .	Feb. 3, 1801	Jefferson Davis . . .	March 5, 1853
Henry Dearborn . . .	March 5, 1801	John B. Floyd	March 6, 1857
" "	March 4, 1805	Joseph Holt	Jan. 18, 1861
William Eustis	March 7, 1809	Simon Cameron	March 5, 1861
John Armstrong . . .	Jan. 13, 1813	Edwin M. Stanton . .	Jan. 15, 1862
" "	March 4, 1813	" "	March 4, 1865
James Monroe	Sept. 27, 1814	" "	April 15, 1865
William H. Crawford .	Aug. 1, 1815	U. S. Grant, <i>ad int.</i> .	Aug. 12, 1867
George Graham	<i>ad interim</i>	Lorenzo Thomas . . .	Feb. 21, 1868
John C. Calhoun . . .	Oct. 8, 1817	John M. Schofield . .	May 28, 1868
" "	March 5, 1821	John A. Rawlins . . .	March 11, 1869
James Barbour	March 7, 1825	William W. Belknap .	Oct. 25, 1869
Peter B. Porter	May 26, 1828	" "	March 4, 1873
John H. Eaton	March 9, 1829	Alphonso Taft	March 8, 1876
Lewis Cass	Aug. 1, 1831	James D. Cameron . .	May 22, 1876
" "	March 4, 1833	George W. McCrary . .	March 12, 1877
Joel R. Poinsett . . .	March 7, 1837	Alexander Ramsey . .	Dec. 10, 1879
John Bell	March 5, 1841	Robert T. Lincoln . .	March 5, 1881
" "	April 6, 1841		

Secretaries of the Navy.

Benjamin Stoddert . .	May 21, 1798	Abel P. Upshur . . .	Sept. 13, 1841
" "	March 4, 1801	David Henshaw	July 24, 1843
Robert Smith	July 15, 1801	Thomas W. Gilmer . .	Feb. 15, 1844
J. Crowninshield . . .	March 3, 1805	John Y. Mason	March 14, 1844
Paul Hamilton	March 7, 1809	George Bancroft . . .	March 10, 1845
William Jones	Jan. 12, 1813	John Y. Mason	Sept. 9, 1846
" "	March 4, 1813	William B. Preston . .	March 8, 1849
B. W. Crowninshield .	Dec. 19, 1814	William A. Graham . .	July 22, 1850
" "	March 4, 1817	John P. Kennedy . . .	July 22, 1852
Smith Thompson	Nov. 9, 1818	James C. Dobbin . . .	March 7, 1853
" "	March 5, 1821	Isaac Toucey	March 6, 1857
Samuel L. Southard . .	Sept. 16, 1823	Gideon Welles	March 5, 1861
" "	March 4, 1825	" "	March 4, 1865
John Branch	March 9, 1829	" "	April 15, 1865
Levi Woodbury	May 23, 1831	Adolph E. Borie . . .	March 5, 1869
" "	March 4, 1833	George M. Robeson . .	June 25, 1869
Mahlon Dickerson . . .	June 30, 1834	" "	March 4, 1873
" "	March 4, 1837	Rich'd W. Thompson .	March 12, 1877
James K. Spaulding . .	June 25, 1838	Nathan Goff, Jr. . . .	Jan. 6, 1881
George E. Badger . . .	March 5, 1841	William H. Hunt . . .	March 5, 1881
" "	April 6, 1841	William E. Chandler .	April 1, 1882

Secretaries of the Interior.

NAME.	APPOINTED.	NAME.	APPOINTED.
Thomas Ewing . . .	March 8, 1849	Orville H. Browning	July 27, 1866
Alex. H. H. Stuart .	Sept. 12, 1850	Jacob D. Cox . . .	March 5, 1869
Robert McClelland .	March 7, 1853	Columbus Delano .	Nov. 1, 1870
Jacob Thompson . .	March 6, 1857	“ “ . . .	March 4, 1873
Caleb B. Smith . . .	March 5, 1861	Zachariah Chandler	Oct. 19, 1875
John P. Usher . . .	Jan. 8, 1863	Carl Schurz	March 12, 1877
“ “ . . .	March 4, 1865	Samuel J. Kirkwood	March 5, 1881
“ “ . . .	April 15, 1865	Henry M. Teller . .	April 6, 1882
James Harlan . . .	May 15, 1865		

Postmasters-General.

Samuel Osgood . . .	Sept. 26, 1789	Cave Johnson . . .	March 6, 1845
Timothy Pickering .	Aug. 12, 1791	Jacob Collamer . .	March 8, 1849
“ “ . . .	March 4, 1793	Nathan K. Hall . .	July 23, 1850
Joseph Habersham .	Feb. 25, 1795	Samuel D. Hubbard	Aug. 31, 1852
“ “ . . .	March 4, 1797	James Campbell . .	March 5, 1853
“ “ . . .	March 4, 1801	Aaron V. Brown . .	March 6, 1857
Gideon Granger . .	Nov. 28, 1801	Joseph Holt	March 14, 1859
“ “ . . .	March 4, 1805	Horatio King . . .	Feb. 12, 1861
“ “ . . .	March 4, 1809	Montgomery Blair .	March 5, 1861
Return J. Meigs, Jr.	March 17, 1814	William Dennison .	Sept. 24, 1864
“ “ . . .	March 4, 1817	“ “ . . .	March 4, 1865
“ “ . . .	March 5, 1821	“ “ . . .	April 15, 1865
John McLane . . .	June 26, 1823	Alex. W. Randall .	July 25, 1866
“ “ . . .	March 4, 1825	John A. J. Creswell	March 5, 1869
William T. Barry . .	March 9, 1829	“ “ . . .	March 4, 1873
“ “ . . .	March 4, 1833	Marshall Jewell . .	Aug. 24, 1874
Amos Kendall . . .	May 1, 1835	James N. Tyner . .	July 12, 1876
“ “ . . .	March 4, 1837	David McK. Key . .	March 12, 1877
John M. Niles . . .	May 25, 1840	Horace Maynard . .	June 2, 1880
Francis Granger . .	March 6, 1841	Thomas L. James . .	March 5, 1881
“ “ . . .	April 6, 1841	Timothy O. Howe .	Dec. 20, 1881
Charles A. Wickliffe	Sept. 13, 1841		

Attorneys-General.

Edmund Randolph .	Sept. 26, 1789	Cæsar A. Rodney .	March 4, 1809
“ “ . . .	March 4, 1793	William Pinckney .	Dec. 11, 1811
William Bradford .	Jan. 27, 1794	“ “ . . .	March 4, 1813
Charles Lee	Dec. 10, 1795	Richard Rush . . .	Feb. 10, 1814
“ “ . . .	March 4, 1797	“ “ . . .	March 4, 1817
Theophilus Parsons	Feb. 20, 1801	William Wirt . . .	Nov. 13, 1817
Levi Lincoln	March 5, 1801	“ “ . . .	March 5, 1821
Robert Smith . . .	March 3, 1805	“ “ . . .	March 4, 1825
John Breckinridge .	Aug. 7, 1805	John M. Berrien . .	March 9, 1829
Cæsar A. Rodney .	Jan. 27, 1807	Roger B. Taney . .	July 20, 1831

Attorneys-General—Continued.

NAME.	APPOINTED.	NAME.	APPOINTED.
Roger B. Taney . .	March 4, 1833	Edward Bates . . .	March 5, 1861
Benjamin F. Butler	Nov. 15, 1833	T. J. Coffey, <i>ad int.</i>	June 22, 1863
“ “ . . .	March 4, 1837	James Speed . . .	Dec. 2, 1864
Felix Grundy . . .	July 5, 1838	“ “ . . .	March 4, 1865
Henry D. Gilpin . .	Jan. 11, 1840	“ “ . . .	April 15, 1865
John J. Crittenden .	March 5, 1841	Henry Stanberry . .	July 23, 1866
“ “ . . .	April 6, 1841	William M. Evarts .	July 15, 1868
Hugh S. Legare . .	Sept. 13, 1841	E. Rockwood Hoar .	March 5, 1869
John Nelson . . .	July 1, 1843	Amos T. Ackerman .	June 23, 1870
John Y. Mason . . .	March 6, 1845	George H. Williams .	Dec. 14, 1871
Nathan Clifford . .	Oct. 17, 1846	“ “ . . .	March 4, 1873
Isaac Toucey . . .	June 21, 1848	Edwards Pierrepont .	April 26, 1875
Reverdy Johnson . .	March 8, 1849	Alphonso Taft . . .	May 22, 1876
John J. Crittenden .	July 22, 1850	Charles Devens . . .	March 12, 1877
Caleb Cushing . . .	March 7, 1853	Wayne McVeagh . .	March 5, 1881
Jeremiah S. Black .	March 6, 1857	Benj. H. Brewster .	Dec. 19, 1881
Edwin M. Stanton .	Dec. 20, 1860		

PUBLIC DEBT OF THE UNITED STATES.

To January 1st of each year to 1842. To July 1st, from 1843-1883.

1791 . . \$75,463,476 52	1815 . . \$99,833,660 15	1839 . . \$3,573,343 82
1792 . . 77,227,924 66	1816 . . 127,334,933 74	1840 . . 5,250,875 54
1793 . . 80,352,634 04	1817 . . 123,491,965 16	1841 . . 13,594,480 73
1794 . . 78,427,404 77	1818 . . 103,166,633 83	1842 . . 20,601,226 28
1795 . . 80,747,587 39	1819 . . 95,529,648 28	1843 . . 32,742,922 00
1796 . . 83,762,172 07	1820 . . 91,015,566 15	1844 . . 23,461,652 50
1797 . . 82,064,479 33	1821 . . 89,987,427 66	1845 . . 15,925,303 01
1798 . . 79,228,529 12	1822 . . 93,546,676 98	1846 . . 15,550,202 97
1799 . . 78,408,669 77	1823 . . 90,875,877 28	1847 . . 38,826,534 77
1800 . . 82,976,294 35	1824 . . 90,269,777 77	1848 . . 47,044,862 23
1801 . . 83,038,050 80	1825 . . 83,788,432 71	1849 . . 63,061,858 69
1802 . . 86,712,632 25	1826 . . 81,054,059 99	1850 . . 63,452,773 55
1803 . . 77,054,686 30	1827 . . 73,987,357 20	1851 . . 68,304,796 02
1804 . . 86,427,120 88	1828 . . 67,475,043 87	1852 . . 66,199,341 71
1805 . . 83,312,150 50	1829 . . 58,421,413 67	1853 . . 59,803,117 70
1806 . . 75,723,270 66	1830 . . 48,565,406 50	1854 . . 42,242,222 42
1807 . . 69,218,398 64	1831 . . 39,123,191 68	1855 . . 35,586,858 56
1808 . . 65,196,317 97	1832 . . 24,322,235 18	1856 . . 31,972,537 90
1809 . . 57,023,192 09	1833 . . 7,001,698 83	1857 . . 28,699,831 85
1810 . . 53,173,217 52	1834 . . 4,760,082 08	1858 . . 44,911,881 03
1811 . . 48,005,587 76	1835 . . 37,513 05	1859 . . 58,496,837 88
1812 . . 45,209,737 90	1836 . . 336,957 83	1860 . . 64,842,287 88
1813 . . 55,962,827 57	1837 . . 3,308,124 07	1861 . . 90,580,873 72
1814 . . 81,487,846 24	1838 . . 10,434,221 14	1862 . . 524,176,412 13

Public Debt of the United States—Continued.

1863 . \$1,119,772,138 63	1870 . \$2,480,672,427 81	1877 . \$2,205,301,392 10
1864 . 1,815,784,370 57	1871 . 2,353,211,332 32	1878 . 2,256,205,892 53
1865 . 2,680,647,869 74	1872 . 2,253,251,328 78	1879 . 2,245,495,072 04
1866 . 2,773,236,173 69	1873 . 2,234,482,993 20	1880 . 2,120,415,370 63
1867 . 2,678,126,103 87	1874 . 2,251,690,468 43	1881 . 2,069,013,569 58
1868 . 2,611,687,851 19	1875 . 2,232,284,531 95	1882 . 1,918,312,994 03
1869 . 2,588,452,213 94	1876 . 2,180,395,067 15	1883 . 1,884,171,728 07

THOSE WHO ARE ENTITLED TO VOTE.

STATES.	Age....	REQUIREMENT AS TO CITIZENSHIP.	Residence in State....	Residence County..	Residence in County..	REGISTRATION.
Alabama . . .	21	Citizens or declared intention .	1 yr.	3 mo		No law.
Arkansas . . .	21	Citizens or declared intention.	1 yr.	6 mo		Prohibited.
California . . .	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	90 ds		Required.
Colorado . . .	21	Citizens or declared intention.	6 mo	...		Required.
Connecticut . .	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	6 mo		Required.
Delaware . . .	21	Actual county taxpayers. . .	1 yr.	1 mo		Not required.
Florida	21	U. S. citizens or decl'd intent'ns	1 yr.	6 mo		Required.
Georgia	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	6 mo		No law.
Illinois	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	90 ds		Required.
Indiana	21	Citizens or declared intention .	6 mo	60 ds		No law.
Iowa	21	Actual citizens	6 mo	60 ds		Required.
Kansas	21	Citizens or declared intention .	6 mo	...		Req'd in cities.
Kentucky . . .	21	Actual citizens	2 yrs	1 yr.		Not required.
Louisiana . . .	21	Citizens or declared intention .	1 yr.	6 mo		No law.
Maine	21	Actual citizens	3 mo	...		Required.
Maryland . . .	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	6 mo		Required.
Massachusetts .	21	Citizens.	1 yr.	...		Required.
Michigan . . .	21	Citizens or declared intention .	3 mo	...		Required.
Minnesota . . .	21	Citizens or declared intention .	4 mo	...		Required.
Mississippi . .	21	Actual citizens	6 mo	1 mo		Required.
Missouri . . .	21	Citizens or declared intention .	1 yr.	60 ds		Req'd in cities.
Nebraska . . .	21	Citizens or declared intention .	6 mo	...		Required.
Nevada	21	Citizens or declared intention .	6 mo	30 ds		Required.
New Hampshire .	21	Actual citizens . . . . .	...	5 mo		Required.
New Jersey . .	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	4 mo		Req'd in cities.
New York . . .	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	90 ds		Req'd in cities.
North Carolina .	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	...		Required.
Ohio	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	...		Not required.
Oregon	21	Citizens or declared intention .	6 mo	...		
Pennsylvania . .	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	...		Required.
Rhode Island . .	21	Actual tax-paying citizens . . .	1 yr.	...		Required.
South Carolina .	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	60 ds		Required.
Tennessee . . .	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	6 mo		Not required.
Texas	21	Citizens or declared intention .	1 yr.	6 mo		Prohibited.
Vermont	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	...		Required.
Virginia	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	...		Required.
West Virginia .	21	Actual citizens	1 yr.	60 ds		Prohibited.
Wisconsin . . .	21	Citizens or declared intention .	1 yr.	...		Required.

APPORTIONMENT OF REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS, **And Ratio of Representation by the Constitution and at each Census.**

STATES.	Admitted to the Union.....	REPRESENTATIVES TO WHICH EACH STATE WAS ENTITLED BY										
		Constitution, 1793.	First Census from March 4, 1793.	Second Census March 4, 1803.	Third Census from March 4, 1813.	Fourth Census from March 4, 1823.	Fifth Census from March 4, 1833.	Sixth Census from March 4, 1843.	Seventh Census March 4, 1853.	Eighth Census March 4, 1863.	Ninth Census March 4, 1873.	Tenth Census March 4, 1883.
Ratio of Representation.....		30,000	33,000	33,000	35,000	40,000	47,700	70,680	93,423	127,381	131,425	154,325
Alabama.....	1819					3	5	7	7	6	8	8
Arkansas.....	1836							1	2	3	4	5
California.....	1850								2	3	4	6
Colorado.....	1876										1	1
Connecticut.....		5	7	7	7	6	6	4	4	4	4	4
Delaware.....		1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Florida.....	1845										2	2
Georgia.....		3	2	4	6	7	9	8	8	7	6	10
Illinois.....	1818					1	3	7	9	14	19	20
Indiana.....	1816					3	7	10	11	11	13	13
Iowa.....	1846								2	6	9	11
Kansas.....	1861									1	3	7
Kentucky.....	1792		2	6	10	12	13	10	10	9	10	11
Louisiana.....	1812					3	3	4	4	5	6	6
Maine.....	1820					7	8	7	6	5	5	4
Maryland.....		6	8	9	9	9	8	6	6	5	6	6
Massachusetts.....		8	14	17	20	13	12	10	11	10	11	12
Michigan.....	1837						3		4	6	9	11
Minnesota.....	1858								2	2	3	5
Mississippi.....	1817					1	2	4	5	5	6	7
Missouri.....	1821					1	2	5	7	9	13	14
Nebraska.....	1867									1	1	3
Nevada.....	1864									1	1	1
New Hampshire.....		3	4	5	6	6	5	4	3	3	3	2
New Jersey.....		4	5	6	6	6	6	5	5	5	7	7
New York.....		6	10	17	27	34	40	34	33	31	33	34
North Carolina.....		5	10	12	13	13	13	9	8	7	8	9
Ohio.....	1802				6	14	19	21	21	19	20	21
Oregon.....	1859								1	1	1	1
Pennsylvania.....		8	13	18	23	26	28	24	25	24	27	28
Rhode Island.....		1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
South Carolina.....		5	6	8	9	9	9	7	6	4	5	7
Tennessee.....	1796			3	6	9	13	11	10	8	10	10
Texas.....	1845								2	4	6	11
Vermont.....	1791		2	4	6	5	5	4	3	3	3	2
Virginia.....		10	19	22	23	22	21	15	13	11	9	10
West Virginia.....	1863										3	4
Wisconsin.....	1848								3	6	8	9
Whole number.		65	105	141	181	213	240	223	237	243	293	325

AGGREGATE ISSUES OF PAPER MONEY IN WAR TIMES.

	POPULATION.	AMOUNT ISSUED.	Amount per head.
Continental money.....	3,000,000 in 1780.	\$359,546,825	\$119 84
French assignats.....	26,500,000 (France in 1790.)	9,115,600,000	343 98
Confederate currency.....	9,103,332 (11 Confederate States, 1860.)	654,465,963	71 89
Greenbacks and national bank-notes.....	31,443,321 (United States in 1860.)	Highest amount in circulation, Jan. '66. \$750,820,228	23 87

POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, BY RACES, IN 1880.

From the Official Returns of the Tenth Census.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Total Population. 1880.	White. 1880.	Colored. 1880.	Chinese. 1880.	Indians civ. or taxed. 1880.
1 Alabama,	1,262,505	662,185	600,103	4	213
2 Arizona,	40,440	35,160	155	1,632	3,493
3 Arkansas,	802,525	591,531	210,666	133	195
4 California,	864,694	767,181	6,018	75,218	16,277
5 Colorado,	194,327	191,126	2,435	612	154
6 Connecticut,	622,700	610,769	11,547	129	255
7 Dakota,	135,177	133,147	401	238	1,391
8 Delaware,	146,608	120,160	26,442	11	5
9 Dist. Columbia, . .	177,624	118,006	59,596	17	5
10 Florida,	269,493	142,605	126,690	18	180
11 Georgia,	1,542,180	816,906	725,133	17	124
12 Idaho,	32,610	29,013	53	3,379	165
13 Illinois,	3,077,871	3,031,151	46,368	212	140
14 Indiana,	1,978,301	1,938,798	39,228	29	246
15 Iowa,	1,624,615	1,614,600	9,516	33	466
16 Kansas,	996,096	952,155	43,107	19	815
17 Kentucky,	1,648,690	1,377,179	271,451	10	50
18 Louisiana,	939,946	454,954	483,655	489	848
19 Maine,	648,936	646,852	1,451	8	625
20 Maryland,	934,943	724,693	210,230	5	15
21 Massachusetts, . . .	1,783,085	1,763,782	18,697	237	369
22 Michigan,	1,636,937	1,614,560	15,100	28	7,249
23 Minnesota,	780,773	776,884	1,564	25	2,300
24 Mississippi,	1,131,597	479,398	650,291	51	1,857
25 Missouri,	2,168,380	2,022,826	145,350	91	113
26 Montana,	39,159	35,385	346	1,765	1,663
27 Nebraska,	452,402	449,764	2,385	18	235
28 Nevada,	62,266	53,556	488	5,419	2,803
29 New Hampshire, . .	346,991	346,229	685	14	63
30 New Jersey,	1,131,116	1,092,017	38,853	172	74
31 New Mexico,	119,565	108,721	1,015	57	9,772
32 New York,	5,082,871	5,016,022	65,104	926	819
33 North Carolina, . .	1,399,750	867,242	531,277	1	1,230
34 Ohio,	3,198,062	3,117,920	79,900	112	130
35 Oregon,	174,768	163,075	487	9,512	1,694
36 Pennsylvania, . . .	4,282,891	4,197,016	85,535	156	184
37 Rhode Island, . . .	276,531	269,939	6,488	27	77
38 South Carolina, . .	995,577	391,105	604,332	9	131
39 Tennessee,	1,542,359	1,138,831	403,151	25	352
40 Texas,	1,591,749	1,197,237	393,384	136	992
41 Utah,	143,963	142,423	232	501	807
42 Vermont,	332,286	331,218	1,057	11	11
43 Virginia,	1,512,565	880,858	631,616	6	85
44 Washington,	75,116	67,199	325	3,187	4,405
45 West Virginia, . . .	618,457	592,537	25,886	5	29
46 Wisconsin,	1,315,497	1,309,618	2,702	16	3,161
47 Wyoming,	20,789	19,437	298	914	140
Total U. States	50,155,783	43,402,970	6,580,793	105,613	66,407

CITIZENSHIP, WITH THE TOTAL MALE POPULATION, 1880.

From the Official Returns of the Tenth Census.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	POPULATION.			VOTING POPULATION. Males of 21 years and over.	
	Total.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.
Alabama,	1,262,505	662,185	600,320	141,461	118,423
Arizona,	40,440	35,160	5,280	18,046	2,352
Arkansas,	802,525	591,531	210,994	136,150	46,827
California,	864,694	767,181	97,513	262,583	266,809
Colorado,	194,327	191,126	3,201	92,088	1,520
Connecticut,	622,700	610,769	11,931	173,759	3,532
Dakota,	135,177	133,147	2,030	50,962	641
Delaware,	146,608	120,160	26,448	31,902	6,396
District Columbia .	177,624	118,006	59,618	31,955	13,918
Florida,	269,493	142,605	126,888	34,210	27,489
Georgia,	1,542,180	816,906	725,274	177,967	143,471
Idaho,	32,610	29,013	3,597	11,669	3,126
Illinois,	3,077,871	3,031,151	46,720	783,161	13,686
Indiana,	1,978,301	1,938,798	39,503	487,698	10,739
Iowa,	1,624,615	1,614,600	10,015	413,633	3,025
Kansas,	996,096	952,155	43,941	254,949	10,765
Kentucky,	1,648,690	1,337,179	271,511	317,579	58,642
Louisiana,	939,946	454,954	484,992	108,810	107,977
Maine,	648,936	646,852	2,084	186,659	664
Maryland,	934,943	724,693	210,250	183,522	48,584
Massachusetts,	1,783,085	1,763,782	19,303	496,692	5,956
Michigan,	1,636,937	1,614,560	22,377	461,557	6,130
Minnesota,	780,773	776,884	3,889	212,399	1,086
Mississippi,	1,131,597	479,398	652,199	108,254	130,278
Missouri,	2,168,380	2,022,826	145,554	508,165	33,042
Montana,	39,159	35,385	3,774	19,636	1,908
Nebraska,	452,402	449,764	2,638	128,198	844
Nevada,	62,266	53,556	8,710	25,633	5,622
New Hampshire,	346,991	346,229	762	104,901	237
New Jersey,	1,131,116	1,092,017	39,099	289,965	10,670
New Mexico,	119,565	108,721	10,844	30,981	3,095
New York,	5,082,871	5,016,022	66,849	1,388,692	20,059
North Carolina,	1,399,750	867,242	532,508	189,732	105,018
Ohio,	3,198,062	3,117,920	80,142	804,871	21,706
Oregon,	174,768	163,075	11,693	51,636	7,993
Pennsylvania,	4,282,891	4,197,016	85,875	1,070,392	23,892
Rhode Island,	276,531	269,939	6,592	75,012	1,886
South Carolina,	995,577	391,105	604,472	86,900	118,889
Tennessee,	1,542,359	1,138,831	403,528	250,055	80,250
Texas,	1,591,749	1,197,237	394,512	301,737	78,639
Utah,	143,963	142,423	1,540	32,078	695
Vermont,	332,286	331,218	1,068	95,307	314
Virginia,	1,512,565	880,858	631,707	206,248	128,257
Washington,	75,116	67,199	7,917	24,251	3,419
West Virginia,	618,457	592,537	25,920	132,777	6,384
Wisconsin,	1,315,497	1,309,618	5,879	338,932	1,550
Wyoming,	20,789	19,437	1,352	9,241	939
Total,	50,155,783	43,402,970	6,580,793	11,343,005	1,487,344





James A. Garfield

LIFE AND CHARACTER OF JAMES ABRAM GARFIELD

A MEMORIAL ADDRESS,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES, FEBRUARY 27, 1882

BY JAMES G. BLAINE,
EX-SECRETARY OF STATE.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.—After the first sorrow for President Garfield's death was somewhat modified by time, what may be called the formal sorrow of the people began to seek a more elaborate expression. It was felt to be fitting that the nation, as such, by her highest representative body, should, by some suitable memorial services, commemorate the life and death of the late honored Chief Magistrate. Very soon after the opening of Congress, in December of 1881, various resolutions were introduced, looking to a formal observance in memory of the dead. After considerable discussion, the 27th of February, 1882, was fixed upon as the memorial day, and ex-Secretary Blaine was chosen as speaker to pronounce a suitable eulogy on the life and character of Garfield. The occasion was one of the utmost state and solemnity. There were present, besides the two Houses of Congress, the President and his Cabinet, the ministers resident of foreign powers, the generals of the army and commanders of the navy, and hundreds of the most distinguished men and women in America. The orator and the eulogy itself were in keeping with the occasion, and it has been deemed appropriate by the publishers to append to this work the full text of Mr. Blaine's oration, which here follows.—J C. R.

MR. PRESIDENT:—For the second time in this generation the great departments of the Government of the United States are assembled in the Hall of Representatives to do honor to the memory of a murdered President. Lincoln fell at the close of a mighty struggle, in which the passions of men had been deeply stirred. The tragical termination of his great life added but another to the lengthened succession of horrors which had marked so many lintels with the blood of the first born. Garfield was slain in a day of peace, when brother had been reconciled to brother, and when anger and hate had been banished from the land. "Whosoever shall hereafter draw the portrait of murder, if he will show it as it has been exhibited where such example was last to have been looked for, let him not give it the grim visage of Moloch, the brow knitted by revenge, the face black with settled hate. Let

him draw, rather, a decorous, smooth-faced, bloodless demon; not so much an example of human nature in its depravity and in its paroxysms of crime, as an infernal being, a fiend in the ordinary display and development of his character."

From the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth till the uprising against Charles I., about twenty thousand emigrants came from old England to New England. As they came in pursuit of intellectual freedom and ecclesiastical independence rather than for worldly honor and profit, the emigration naturally ceased when the contest for religious liberty began in earnest at home. The man who struck his most effective blow for freedom of conscience by sailing for the colonies in 1620 would have been accounted a deserter to leave after 1640. The opportunity had then come on the soil of England for that great contest which established the authority of Parliament, gave religious freedom to the people, sent Charles to the block, and committed to the hands of Oliver Cromwell the supreme executive authority of England. The English emigration was never renewed, and from these twenty thousand men, with a small emigration from Scotland and from France, are descended the vast numbers who have New England blood in their veins.

In 1685 the revocation of the edict of Nantes, by Louis XIV., scattered to other countries four hundred thousand Protestants, who were among the most intelligent and enterprising of French subjects—merchants of capital, skilled manufacturers, and handicraftsmen, superior at the time to all others in Europe. A considerable number of these Huguenot French came to America; a few landed in New England and became honorably prominent in its history. Their names have, in large part, become Anglicized, or have disappeared, but their blood is traceable in many of the most reputable families, and their fame is perpetuated in honorable memorials and useful institutions.

From these two sources, the English-Puritan and the French-Huguenot, came the late President; his father, Abraham Garfield, being descended from the one, and his mother, Eliza Ballou, from the other.

It was good stock on both sides—none better, none braver, none truer. There was in it an inheritance of courage, of manliness, of imperishable love of liberty, of undying adherence to principle. Garfield was proud of his blood; and, with as much satisfaction as if he were a British nobleman reading his stately ancestral record in Burke's Peerage, he spoke of himself as ninth in descent from those who would not endure the oppression of the Stuarts, and seventh in descent from the brave French Protestants who refused to submit to tyranny even from the Grand Monarque.

General Garfield delighted to dwell on these traits; and during his only visit to England he busied himself in discovering every trace of his forefathers in parish registries and on ancient army rolls. Sitting with a friend, in the gal-

lery of the House of Commons, one night, after a long day's labor in this field of research, he said, with evident elation, that in every war in which, for three centuries, patriots of English blood had struck sturdy blows for constitutional government and human liberty, his family had been represented. They were at Marston Moor, at Naseby, and at Preston; they were at Bunker Hill, at Saratoga, and at Monmouth, and in his own person had battled for the same great cause in the war which preserved the Union of the States.

Losing his father before he was two years old, the early life of Garfield was one of privation, but its poverty has been made indelicately and unjustly prominent. Thousands of readers have imagined him as the ragged, starving child, whose reality too often greets the eye in the squalid sections of our large cities. General Garfield's infancy and youth had none of their destitution, none of their pitiful features appealing to the tender heart and to the open hand of charity. He was a poor boy in the same sense in which Henry Clay was a poor boy; in which Andrew Jackson was a poor boy; in which Daniel Webster was a poor boy; in the sense in which a large majority of the eminent men of America, in all generations, have been poor boys. Before a great multitude of men, in a public speech, Mr. Webster bore this testimony:

"It did not happen to me to be born in a log-cabin, but my elder brothers and sisters were born in a log-cabin raised amid the snow drifts of New Hampshire, at a period so early that when the smoke rose first from its rude chimney, and curled over the frozen hills, there was no similar evidence of a white man's habitation between it and the settlements on the rivers of Canada. Its remains still exist. I make to it an annual visit. I carry my children to it to teach them the hardships endured by the generations which have gone before them. I love to dwell on the tender recollections, the kindred ties, the early affections, and the touching narratives and incidents which mingle with all I know of this primitive family abode."

With the requisite change of scene the same words would aptly portray the early days of Garfield. The poverty of the frontier, where all are engaged in a common struggle and where a common sympathy and hearty co-operation lighten the burdens of each, is a very different poverty—different in kind, different in influence and effect—from that conscious and humiliating indigence which is every day forced to contrast itself with neighboring wealth on which it feels a sense of grinding dependence. The poverty of the frontier is indeed no poverty. It is but the beginning of wealth, and has the boundless possibilities of the future always opening before it. No man ever grew up in the agricultural regions of the West where a house-raising, or even a corn-husking, is matter of common interest and helpfulness, with any other feeling than that of broad-minded, generous independence. This honorable independence marked the youth of Garfield as it marks the youth of millions of the best blood and brain now training for the future citizenship and future government of the republic. Garfield was born heir to land, to the title of

freeholder which has been the patent and passport of self-respect with the Anglo-Saxon race ever since Hengist and Horsa landed on the shores of England. His adventure on the canal—an alternative between that and the deck of a Lake Erie schooner—was a farmer boy's device for earning money, just as the New England lad begins a possibly great career by sailing before the mast on a coasting-vessel or on a merchantman bound to the Farther India or to the China Seas.

No manly man feels any thing of shame in looking back to early struggles with adverse circumstances, and no man feels a worthier pride than when he has conquered the obstacles to his progress. But no one of noble mould desires to be looked upon as having occupied a menial position, as having been repressed by a feeling of inferiority, or as having suffered the evils of poverty until relief was found at the hand of charity. General Garfield's youth presented no hardships which family love and family energy did not overcome; subjected him to no privations which he did not cheerfully accept; and left no memories save those which were recalled with delight and were transmitted with profit and with pride.

Garfield's early opportunities for securing an education were extremely limited, and yet were sufficient to develop in him an intense desire to learn. He could read at three years of age, and each winter he had the advantage of the district school. He read all the books to be found within the circle of his acquaintance: some of them he got by heart. While yet in childhood he was a constant student of the Bible, and became familiar with its literature. The dignity and earnestness of his speech in his maturer life gave evidence of this early training. At eighteen years of age he was able to teach school, and thenceforward his ambition was to obtain a college education. To this end he bent all his efforts, working in the harvest field, at the carpenter's bench, and, in the winter season, teaching the common schools of the neighborhood. While thus laboriously occupied he found time to prosecute his studies, and was so successful, that at twenty-two years of age he was able to enter the junior class at Williams College, then under the Presidency of the venerable and honored Mark Hopkins, who, in the fullness of his powers, survives the eminent pupil to whom he was of inestimable service.

The history of Garfield's life to this period presents no novel features. He had undoubtedly shown perseverance, self-reliance, self-sacrifice, and ambition—qualities which, be it said for the honor of our country, are everywhere to be found among the young men of America. But from his graduation at Williams onward to the hour of his tragical death, Garfield's career was eminent and exceptional. Slowly working through his educational period, receiving his diploma when twenty-four years of age, he seemed at one bound to spring into conspicuous and brilliant success. Within six years he was successively President of a college, State Senator of Ohio, Major-General of the Army of the United States, and Representative elect to the National

Congress. A combination of honors so varied, so elevated, within a period so brief, and to a man so young, is without precedent or parallel in the history of the country.

Garfield's army life was begun with no other military knowledge than such as he had hastily gained from books in the few months preceding his march to the field. Stepping from civil life to the head of a regiment, the first order he received when ready to cross the Ohio was to assume command of a brigade, and to operate as an independent force in Eastern Kentucky. His immediate duty was to check the advance of Humphrey Marshall, who was marching down the Big Sandy with the intention of occupying, in connection with other Confederate forces, the entire territory of Kentucky, and of precipitating the State into secession. This was at the close of the year 1861. Seldom, if ever, has a young college professor been thrown into a more embarrassing and discouraging position. He knew just enough of military science, as he expressed it himself, to measure the extent of his ignorance, and with a handful of men he was marching, in rough winter weather, into a strange country, among a hostile population, to confront a largely superior force, under the command of a distinguished graduate of West Point, who had seen active and important service in two preceding wars.

The result of the campaign is matter of history. The skill, the endurance, the extraordinary energy shown by Garfield, the courage he imparted to his men, raw and untried as himself, the measures he adopted to increase his force, and to create in the enemy's mind exaggerated estimates of his numbers, bore perfect fruit in the routing of Marshall, the capture of his camp, the dispersion of his force, and the emancipation of an important territory from the control of the rebellion. Coming at the close of a long series of disasters to the Union army, Garfield's victory had an unusual and extraneous importance, and in the popular judgment elevated the young commander to the rank of a military hero. With less than 2,000 men in his entire command, with a mobilized force of only 1,100, without cannon, he had met an army of 5,000 and defeated them—driving Marshall's forces successively from two strongholds of their own selection, fortified with abundant artillery. Major-General Buell, commanding the Department of the Ohio, an experienced and able soldier of the regular army, published an order of thanks and congratulation on the brilliant result of the Big Sandy campaign, which would have turned the head of a less cool and sensible man than Garfield. Buell declared that his services had called into action the highest qualities of a soldier; and President Lincoln supplemented these words of praise by the more substantial reward of a brigadier-general's commission, to bear date from the day of his decisive victory over Marshall.

The subsequent military career of Garfield fully sustained its brilliant beginning. With his new commission, he was assigned to the command of a brigade in the Army of the Ohio, and took part in the second and decisive

day's fight in the great battle of Shiloh. The remainder of the year 1862 was not especially eventful to Garfield, as it was not to the armies with which he was serving. His practical sense was called into exercise in completing the task, assigned him by General Buell, of reconstructing bridges and re-establishing lines of railway communication for the army. His occupation in this useful but not brilliant field was varied by service on court-martials of importance, in which department of duty he won a valuable reputation, attracting the notice and securing the approval of the able and eminent Judge Advocate-General of the Army. That of itself was warrant to honorable fame; for among the great men who in those trying days gave themselves, with entire devotion, to the service of their country, one who brought to that service the ripest learning, the most fervid eloquence, the most varied attainments, who labored with modesty and shunned applause, who in the day of triumph sat reserved and silent and grateful—as Francis Deak in the hour of Hungary's deliverance—was Joseph Holt, of Kentucky, who in his honorable retirement enjoys the respect and veneration of all who love the Union of the States.

Early in 1863 Garfield was assigned to the highly important and responsible post of chief-of-staff to General Rosecrans, then at the head of the Army of the Cumberland. Perhaps in a great military campaign no subordinate officer requires sounder judgment and quicker knowledge of men than the chief-of-staff to the commanding general. An indiscreet man in such a position can sow more discord, breed more jealousy, and disseminate more strife, than any other officer in the entire organization. When General Garfield assumed his new duties he found various troubles already well developed and seriously affecting the value and efficiency of the Army of the Cumberland. The energy, the impartiality, and the tact with which he sought to allay these dissensions and to discharge the duties of his new and trying position will always remain one of the most striking proofs of his great versatility. His military duties closed on the memorable field of Chickamauga, a field which, however disastrous to the Union arms, gave to him the occasion of winning imperishable laurels. The very rare distinction was accorded him of a great promotion for his bravery on a field that was lost. President Lincoln appointed him a major-general in the Army of the United States for gallant and meritorious conduct in the battle of Chickamauga.

The Army of the Cumberland was reorganized, under the command of General Thomas, who promptly offered Garfield one of its divisions. He was extremely desirous to accept the position, but was embarrassed by the fact that he had, a year before, been elected to Congress, and the time when he must take his seat was drawing near. He preferred to remain in the military service, and had within his own breast the largest confidence of success in the wider field which his new rank opened to him. Balancing the arguments on the one side and the other, anxious to determine what was for the best, desirous above all things to do his patriotic duty, he was decisively influenced

by the advice of President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton, both of whom assured him that he could, at that time, be of especial value in the House of Representatives. He resigned his commission of major-general on the 5th day of December, 1863, and took his seat in the House of Representatives on the 7th. He had served two years and four months in the army, and had just completed his thirty-second year.

The Thirty-eighth Congress is pre-eminently entitled in history to the designation of the War Congress. It was elected while the war was flagrant, and every member was chosen upon the issues involved in the continuance of the struggle. The Thirty-seventh Congress had, indeed, legislated to a large extent on war measures, but it was chosen before any one believed that secession of the States would be actually attempted. The magnitude of the work which fell upon its successor was unprecedented, both in respect to the vast sums of money raised for the support of the army and navy, and of the new and extraordinary powers of legislation which it was forced to exercise. Only twenty-four States were represented, and 182 members were upon its roll. Among these were many distinguished party leaders on both sides, veterans in the public service, with established reputations for ability, and with that skill which comes only from parliamentary experience. Into this assemblage of men Garfield entered without special preparation, and it might almost be said unexpectedly. The question of taking command of a division of troops under General Thomas, or taking his seat in Congress, was kept open till the last moment—so late, indeed, that the resignation of his military commission and his appearance in the House were almost contemporaneous. He wore the uniform of a major-general of the United States army on Saturday, and on Monday, in civilian's dress, he answered to the roll-call as a Representative in Congress from the State of Ohio.

He was especially fortunate in the constituency which elected him. Descended almost entirely from New England stock, the men of the Ashtabula district were intensely radical on all questions relating to human rights. Well educated, thrifty, thoroughly intelligent in affairs, acutely discerning of character, not quick to bestow confidence, and slow to withdraw it, they were at once the most helpful and most exacting of supporters. Their tenacious trust in men in whom they have once confided is illustrated by the unparalleled fact that Elisha Whittlesey, Joshua R. Giddings, and James A. Garfield represented the district for fifty-four years.

There is no test of a man's ability in any department of public life more severe than service in the House of Representatives; there is no place where so little deference is paid to reputation previously acquired, or to eminence won outside; no place where so little consideration is shown for the feelings or the failures of beginners. What a man gains in the House he gains by sheer force of his own character; and if he loses and falls back he must expect no mercy, and will receive no sympathy. It is a field in which the survival

of the strongest is the recognized rule, and where no pretense can deceive and no glamour can mislead. The real man is discovered, his worth is impartially weighed, his rank is irreversibly decreed.

With possibly a single exception, Garfield was the youngest member in the House when he entered, and was but seven years from his college graduation. But he had not been in his seat sixty days before his ability was recognized and his place conceded. He stepped to the front with the confidence of one who belonged there. The House was crowded with strong men of both parties; nineteen of them have since been transferred to the Senate, and many of them have served with distinction in the gubernatorial chairs of their respective States, and on foreign missions of great consequence; but among them all none grew so rapidly, none so firmly as Garfield. As is said by Trevelyan of his parliamentary hero, Garfield succeeded "because all the world in concert could not have kept him in the background; and because, when once in the front, he played his part with a prompt intrepidity and a commanding ease that were but the outward symptoms of the immense reserves of energy, on which it was in his power to draw." Indeed the apparently reserved force which Garfield possessed was one of his great characteristics. He never did so well but that it seemed he could easily have done better. He never expended so much strength but that he seemed to be holding additional power at call. This is one of the happiest and rarest distinctions of an effective debater, and often counts for as much in persuading an assembly as the eloquent and elaborate argument.

The great measure of Garfield's fame was filled by his service in the House of Representatives. His military life, illustrated by honorable performance, and rich in promise, was, as he himself felt, prematurely terminated, and necessarily incomplete. Speculation as to what he might have done in a field where the great prizes are so few can not be profitable. It is sufficient to say that, as a soldier, he did his duty bravely; he did it intelligently; he won an enviable fame, and he retired from the service without blot or breath against him.

As a lawyer, though admirably equipped for the profession, he can scarcely be said to have entered on its practice. The few efforts he made at the bar were distinguished by the same high order of talent which he exhibited on every field where he was put to the test; and if a man may be accepted as a competent judge of his own capacities and adaptations, the law was the profession to which Garfield should have devoted himself. But fate ordained otherwise, and his reputation in history will rest largely upon his service in the House of Representatives. That service was exceptionally long. He was nine times consecutively chosen to the House, an honor enjoyed by not more than six other Representatives of the more than 5,000 who have been elected from the organization of the government to this hour.

As a parliamentary orator, as a debater on an issue squarely joined, where

the position has been chosen and the ground laid out, Garfield must be assigned a very high rank. More, perhaps, than any man with whom he was associated in public life, he gave careful and systematic study to public questions, and he came to every discussion in which he took part with elaborate and complete preparation. He was a steady and indefatigable worker. Those who imagine that talent or genius can supply the place or achieve the results of labor will find no encouragement in Garfield's life. In preliminary work he was apt, rapid, and skillful. He possessed, in a high degree, the power of readily absorbing ideas and facts, and, like Dr. Johnson, had the art of getting from a book all that was of value in it by a reading apparently so quick and cursory that it seemed like a mere glance at the table of contents. He was a pre-eminently fair and candid man in debate, took no petty advantage, stooped to no unworthy methods, avoided personal allusions, rarely appealed to prejudice, did not seek to influence passion. He had a quicker eye for the strong point of his adversary than for his weak point, and on his own side he so marshaled his weighty arguments as to make his hearers forget any possible lack in the complete strength of his position. He had a habit of stating his opponent's side with such amplitude of fairness and such liberality of concession that his followers often complained that he was giving his case away. But never in his prolonged participation in the proceedings of the House did he give his case away, or fail in the judgment of competent and impartial listeners to gain the mastery.

These characteristics, which marked Garfield as a great debater, did not, however, make him a great parliamentary leader. A parliamentary leader, as that term is understood wherever free representative government exists, is necessarily and very strictly the organ of his party. An ardent American defined the instinctive warmth of patriotism when he offered the toast: "Our country always right; but right or wrong, our country." The parliamentary leader who has a body of followers that will do and dare and die for the cause, is one who believes his party always right; but right or wrong, is for his party. No more important or exacting duty devolves upon him than the selection of the field and the time for contest. He must know not merely how to strike, but where to strike, and when to strike. He often skillfully avoids the strength of his opponent's position and scatters confusion in his ranks, by attacking an exposed point when really the righteousness of the cause and the strength of logical intrenchment are against him. He conquers often both against the right and the heavy battalions; as when young Charles Fox, in the days of his Toryism, carried the House of Commons against justice, against its immemorial rights, against his own convictions, and in the interest of a corrupt administration, in obedience to a tyrannical sovereign, drove Wilkes from the seat to which the electors of Middlesex had chosen him and installed Luttrell in defiance, not merely of law, but of public decency. For an achievement of that kind Garfield was disqualified—disqualified by the

texture of his mind, by the honesty of his heart, by his conscience, and by every instinct and aspiration of his nature.

The three most distinguished parliamentary leaders hitherto developed in this country are Mr. Clay, Mr. Douglas, and Mr. Thaddeus Stevens. Each was a man of consummate ability, of great earnestness, of intense personality, differing widely, each from the others, and yet with a signal trait in common—the power to command. In the give and take of daily discussion, in the art of controlling and consolidating reluctant and refractory followers; in the skill to overcome all forms of opposition, and to meet with competency and courage the varying phases of unlooked-for assault or unsuspected defection, it would be difficult to rank with these a fourth name in all our Congressional history. But of these Mr. Clay was the greatest. It would, perhaps, be impossible to find in the parliamentary annals of the world a parallel to Mr. Clay in 1841, when at sixty-four years of age he took the control of the Whig party from the President who had received their suffrages, against the power of Webster in the Cabinet, against the eloquence of Choate in the Senate, against the herculean efforts of Caleb Cushing and Henry A. Wise in the House. In unshared leadership, in the pride and plenitude of power, he hurled against John Tyler, with deepest scorn, the mass of that conquering column which had swept over the land in 1840 and drove his administration to seek shelter behind the lines of his political foes. Mr. Douglas achieved a victory scarcely less wonderful, when, in 1854, against the secret desires of a strong administration, against the wise counsel of the older chiefs, against the conservative instinct, and even the moral sense of the country, he forced a reluctant Congress into a repeal of the Missouri compromise. Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, in his contests from 1865 to 1868, actually advanced his parliamentary leadership until Congress tied the hands of the President, and governed the country by its own will, leaving only perfunctory duties to be discharged by the Executive. With \$200,000,000 of patronage in his hands at the opening of the contest, aided by the active force of Seward in the Cabinet and the moral power of Chase on the bench, Andrew Johnson could not command the support of one-third in either House against the parliamentary uprising of which Thaddeus Stevens was the animating spirit and the unquestioned leader.

From these three great men Garfield differed radically,—differed in the quality of his mind, in temperament, in the form and phase of ambition. He could not do what they did, but he could do what they could not, and in the breadth of his Congressional work he left that which will longer exert a potential influence among men, and which, measured by the severe test of posthumous criticism, will secure a more enduring and more enviable fame.

Those unfamiliar with Garfield's industry, and ignorant of the details of his work, may, in some degree, measure them by the annals of Congress. No one of the generation of public men to which he belonged has contributed so

much that will be valuable for future reference. His speeches are numerous, many of them brilliant, all of them well studied, carefully phrased, and exhaustive of the subject under consideration. Collected from the scattered pages of ninety royal octavo volumes of Congressional Record, they would present an invaluable compendium of the political history of the most important era through which the national government has ever passed. When the history of this period shall be impartially written, when war legislation, measures of reconstruction, protection of human rights, amendments to the Constitution, maintenance of public credit, steps toward specie resumption, true theories of revenue may be reviewed, unsurrounded by prejudice and disconnected from partisanism, the speeches of Garfield will be estimated at their true value, and will be found to comprise a vast magazine of fact and argument, of clear analysis, and sound conclusion. Indeed, if no other authority were accessible, his speeches in the House of Representatives, from December, 1863, to June, 1880, would give a well-connected history and complete defense of the important legislation of the seventeen eventful years that constitute his parliamentary life. Far beyond that, his speeches would be found to forecast many great measures yet to be completed—measures which he knew were beyond the public opinion of the hour, but which he confidently believed would secure popular approval within the period of his own lifetime, and by the aid of his own efforts.

Differing, as Garfield does, from the brilliant parliamentary leaders, it is not easy to find his counterpart anywhere in the records of public life. He perhaps more nearly resembles Mr. Seward in his supreme faith in the all-conquering power of a principle. He had the love of learning and the patient industry of investigation, to which John Quincy Adams owes his prominence and his Presidency. He had some of those ponderous elements of mind which distinguished Mr. Webster, and which, indeed, in all our public life have left the great Massachusetts Senator without an intellectual peer.

In English parliamentary history, as in our own, the leaders in the House of Commons present points of essential difference from Garfield. But some of his methods recall the best features in the strong, independent course of Sir Robert Peel, and striking resemblances are discernible in that most promising of modern conservatives, who died too early for his country and his fame, the Lord George Bentinck. He had all of Burke's love for the sublime and the beautiful, with, possibly, something of his superabundance; and in his faith and his magnanimity, in his power of statement, in his subtle analysis, in his faultless logic, in his love of literature, in his wealth and world of illustration, one is reminded of that English statesman of to-day, who confronted with obstacles that would daunt any but the dauntless, reviled by those whom he would relieve as bitterly as by those whose supposed rights he is forced to invade, still labors with serene courage for the amelioration of Ireland, and for the honor of the English name.

Garfield's nomination to the Presidency, while not predicted or anticipated, was not a surprise to the country. His prominence in Congress, his solid qualities, his wide reputation, strengthened by his then recent election as Senator from Ohio, kept him in the public eye as a man occupying the very highest rank among those entitled to be called statesmen. It was not mere chance that brought him this high honor. "We must," says Mr. Emerson, "reckon success a constitutional trait. If Eric is in robust health and has slept well, and is at the top of his condition, and thirty years old at his departure from Greenland, he will steer west, and his ships will reach Newfoundland. But take Eric out and put in a stronger and bolder man, and the ships will sail 600, 1,000, 1,500 miles further and reach Labrador and New England. There is no chance in results."

As a candidate, Garfield steadily grew in popular favor. He was met with a storm of detraction at the very hour of his nomination, and it continued with increasing volume and momentum until the close of his victorious campaign :

No might nor greatness in mortality
Can censure 'scape; backwounding calumny
The whitest virtue strikes. What king so strong
Can tie the gall up in the slanderous tongue?

Under it all he was calm and strong, and confident; never lost his self-possession, did no unwise act, spoke no hasty or ill-considered word. Indeed, nothing in his whole life is more remarkable or more creditable than his bearing through those five full months of vituperation—a prolonged agony of trial to a sensitive man, a constant and cruel draft upon the powers of moral endurance. The great mass of these unjust imputations passed unnoticed, and with the general *débris* of the campaign fell into oblivion. But in a few instances the iron entered his soul, and he died with the injury unforgotten, if not unforgiven.

One aspect of Garfield's candidacy was unprecedented. Never before in the history of partisan contests in this country had a successful Presidential candidate spoken freely on passing events and current issues. To attempt any thing of the kind seemed novel, rash, and even desperate. The older class of voters recalled the unfortunate Alabama letter, in which Mr. Clay was supposed to have signed his political death-warrant. They remembered also the hot-tempered effusion by which General Scott lost a large share of his popularity before his nomination, and the unfortunate speeches which rapidly consumed the remainder. The younger voters had seen Mr. Greeley in a series of vigorous and original addresses, preparing the pathway for his own defeat. Unmindful of these warnings, unheeding the advice of friends, Garfield spoke to large crowds as he journeyed to and from New York in August, to a great multitude in that city, to delegations and deputations of every kind that called at Mentor during the summer and autumn. With innumerable critics, watchful and eager to catch a phrase that might be turned into odium or

ridicule, or a sentence that might be distorted to his own or his party's injury, Garfield did not trip or halt in any one of his seventy speeches. This seems all the more remarkable when it is remembered that he did not write what he said, and yet spoke with such logical consecutiveness of thought and such admirable precision of phrase as to defy the accident of misreport and the malignity of misrepresentation.

In the beginning of his Presidential life Garfield's experience did not yield him pleasure or satisfaction. The duties that engross so large a portion of the President's time were distasteful to him, and were unfavorably contrasted with his legislative work. "I have been dealing all these years with ideas," he impatiently exclaimed one day, "and here I am dealing only with persons. I have been heretofore treating of the fundamental principles of government, and here I am considering all day whether A or B shall be appointed to this or that office." He was earnestly seeking some practicable way of correcting the evils arising from the distribution of overgrown and unwieldy patronage—evils always appreciated and often discussed by him, but whose magnitude had been more deeply impressed upon his mind since his accession to the Presidency. Had he lived, a comprehensive improvement in the mode of appointment and in the tenure of office would have been proposed by him, and, with the aid of Congress, no doubt perfected.

But while many of the executive duties were not grateful to him, he was assiduous and conscientious in their discharge. From the very outset he exhibited administrative talent of a high order. He grasped the helm of office with the hand of a master. In this respect, indeed, he constantly surprised many who were most intimately associated with him in the government, and especially those who had feared that he might be lacking in the executive faculty. His disposition of business was orderly and rapid. His power of analysis, and his skill in classification, enabled him to dispatch a vast mass of detail with singular promptness and ease. His cabinet meetings were admirably conducted. His clear presentation of official subjects, his well considered suggestion of topics on which discussion was invited, his quick decision when all had been heard, combined to show a thoroughness of mental training as rare as his natural ability and his facile adaptation to a new and enlarged field of labor.

With perfect comprehension of all the inheritances of the war, with a cool calculation of the obstacles in his way, impelled always by a generous enthusiasm, Garfield conceived that much might be done by his administration toward restoring harmony between the different sections of the Union. He was anxious to go South and speak to the people. As early as April he had ineffectually endeavored to arrange for a trip to Nashville, whither he had been cordially invited, and he was again disappointed a few weeks later to find that he could not go to South Carolina to attend the centennial celebration of the victory of the Cowpens. But for the autumn he definitely counted

on being present at three memorable assemblies in the South—the celebration at Yorktown, the opening of the Cotton Exposition at Atlanta, and the meeting of the Army of the Cumberland at Chattanooga. He was already turning over in his mind his address for each occasion, and the three taken together, he said to a friend, gave him the exact scope and verge which he needed. At Yorktown he would have before him the associations of a hundred years that bound the South and North in the sacred memory of a common danger and a common victory. At Atlanta he would present the material interests and the industrial development which appealed to the thrift and independence of every household, and which should unite the two sections by the instinct of self-interest and self-defense. At Chattanooga he would revive memories of the war only to show that after all its disaster and all its suffering, the country was stronger and greater, the Union rendered indissoluble, and the future, through the agony and blood of one generation; made brighter and better for all.

Garfield's ambition for the success of his administration was high. With strong caution and conservatism in his nature, he was in no danger of attempting rash experiments or of resorting to the empiricism of statesmanship. But he believed that renewed and closer attention should be given to questions affecting the material interests and commercial prospects of 50,000,000 of people. He believed that our continental relations, extensive and undeveloped as they are, involved responsibility, and could be cultivated into profitable friendship or be abandoned to harmful indifference or lasting enmity. He believed with equal confidence that an essential forerunner to a new era of national progress must be a feeling of contentment in every section of the Union, and a generous belief that the benefits and burdens of government would be common to all. Himself a conspicuous illustration of what ability and ambition may do under republican institutions, he loved his country with a passion of patriotic devotion, and every waking thought was given to her advancement. He was an American in all his aspirations, and he looked to the destiny and influence of the United States with the philosophic composure of Jefferson and the demonstrative confidence of John Adams.

The political events which disturbed the President's serenity for many weeks before that fateful day in July form an important chapter in his career, and, in his own judgment, involved questions of principle and of right which are vitally essential to the constitutional administration of the Federal Government. It would be out of place here and now to speak the language of controversy, but the events referred to, however they may continue to be a source of contention with others, have become, so far as Garfield is concerned, as much a matter of history as his heroism at Chickamauga or his illustrious service in the House. Detail is not needful, and personal antagonism shall not be rekindled by any word uttered to-day. The motives of those opposing him are not to be here adversely interpreted, nor their course

harshly characterized. But of the dead President this is to be said, and said because his own speech is forever silenced, and he can be no more heard except through the fidelity and love of surviving friends: From the beginning to the end of the controversy he so much deplored, the President was never for one moment actuated by any motive of gain to himself or of loss to others. Least of all men did he harbor revenge, rarely did he ever show resentment, and malice was not in his nature. He was congenially employed only in the exchange of good offices and the doing of kindly deeds.

There was not an hour, from the beginning of the trouble till the fatal shot entered his body, when the President would not gladly, for the sake of restoring harmony, have retraced any step he had taken if such retracing had merely involved consequences personal to himself. The pride of consistency, or any sense of supposed humiliation that might result from surrendering his position, had not a feather's weight with him. No man was ever less subject to such influences from within or from without. But after most anxious deliberation, and the coolest survey of all the circumstances, he solemnly believed that the true prerogatives of the Executive were involved in the issue which had been raised, and that he would be unfaithful to his supreme obligation if he failed to maintain in all their vigor the constitutional rights and dignities of his great office. He believed this in all the convictions of conscience when in sound and vigorous health, and he believed it in his suffering and prostration in the last conscious thought which his wearied mind bestowed on the transitory struggles of life.

More than this need not be said. Less than this could not be said. Justice to the dead, the highest obligation that devolves upon the living, demands the declaration that, in all the bearings of the subject, actual or possible, the President was content in his mind, justified in his conscience, immovable in his conclusions.

The religious element in Garfield's character was deep and earnest. In his early youth he espoused the faith of the Disciples, a sect of that great Baptist communion which, in different ecclesiastical establishments, is so numerous and so influential throughout all parts of the United States. But the broadening tendency of his mind and his active spirit of inquiry were early apparent, and carried him beyond the dogmas of sect and the restraints of association. In selecting a college in which to continue his education, he rejected Bethany, though presided over by Alexander Campbell, the greatest preacher of his Church. His reasons were characteristic: first, that Bethany leaned too heavily toward slavery; and, second, that being himself a Disciple, and the son of Disciple parents, he had but little acquaintance with people of other beliefs, and he thought it would make him more liberal, quoting his own words, both in his religious and general views, to go into a new circle and be under new influences.

The liberal tendency which he anticipated as the result of wider cult-

ure was fully realized. He was emancipated from mere sectarian belief, and with eager interest pushed his investigations in the direction of modern progressive thought. He followed with quickening step in the paths of exploration and speculation so fearlessly trodden by Darwin, by Huxley, by Tyndall, and by other living scientists of the radical and advanced type. His own Church, binding its disciples by no formulated creed, but accepting the Old and New Testaments as the Word of God with unbiased liberality of private interpretation, favored, if it did not stimulate, the spirit of investigation. Its members profess with sincerity, and profess only, to be of one mind and one faith with those who immediately followed the Master, and who were first called Christians at Antioch.

But however high Garfield reasoned of "fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute," he was never separated from the Church of the Disciples in his affections and in his associations. For him it held the ark of the covenant. To him it was the gate of heaven. The world of religious belief is full of solecisms and contradictions. A philosophic observer declares that men by the thousand will die in defense of a creed whose doctrines they do not comprehend, and whose tenets they habitually violate. It is equally true that men, by the thousand, will cling to church organizations with instinctive and undying fidelity when their belief, in maturer years, is radically different from that which inspired them as neophytes.

But after this range of speculation, and this latitude of doubt, Garfield came back always with freshness and delight to the simpler instincts of religious faith, which, earliest implanted, longest survive. Not many weeks before his assassination, walking on the banks of the Potomac with a friend, and conversing on those topics of personal religion, concerning which noble natures have an unconquerable reserve, he said that he found the Lord's Prayer, and the simple petitions learned in infancy, infinitely restful to him, not merely in their stated repetition, but in their casual and frequent recall as he went about the daily duties of life. Certain texts of Scripture had a very strong hold on his memory and his heart. He heard, while in Edinburgh, some years ago, an eminent Scotch preacher who prefaced his sermon with reading the eighth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, which book had been the subject of careful study with Garfield during all his religious life. He was greatly impressed by the elocution of the preacher, and declared that it had imparted a new and deeper meaning to the majestic utterances of St. Paul. He referred often, in after years, to that memorable service, and dwelt with exaltation of feeling upon the radiant promise and the assured hope with which the great apostle of the Gentiles was "persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."

The crowning characteristics of General Garfield's religious opinions, as,

indeed, of all his opinions, was his liberality. In all things he had charity. Tolerance was of his nature. He respected in others the qualities which he possessed himself—sincerity of conviction and frankness of expression. With him the inquiry was not so much what a man believes, but does he believe it? The lines of his friendship and his confidence encircled men of every creed, and men of no creed; and to the end of his life, on his ever-lengthening list of friends, were to be found the names of a pious Catholic priest and of an honest-minded and generous-hearted freethinker.

On the morning of Saturday, July 2, the President was a contented and happy man—not in an ordinary degree, but joyfully, almost boyishly happy. On his way to the railroad station, to which he drove slowly, in conscious enjoyment of the beautiful morning, with an unwonted sense of leisure and a keen anticipation of pleasure, his talk was all in the grateful and gratulatory vein. He felt that after four months of trial his administration was strong in its grasp of affairs, strong in popular favor, and destined to grow stronger; that grave difficulties confronting him at his inauguration had been safely passed; that trouble lay behind him and not before him; that he was soon to meet the wife whom he loved, now recovering from an illness which had but lately disquieted and at times almost unnerved him; that he was going to his Alma Mater to renew the most cherished associations of his young manhood, and to exchange greetings with those whose deepening interest had followed every step of his upward progress from the day he entered upon his college course until he had attained the loftiest elevation in the gift of his countrymen.

Surely if happiness can ever come from the honors or triumphs of this world, on that quiet July morning, James A. Garfield may well have been a happy man. No foreboding of evil haunted him; no slightest premonition of danger clouded his sky. His terrible fate was upon him in an instant. One moment he stood erect, strong, confident, in the years stretching peacefully out before him. The next he lay wounded, bleeding, helpless, doomed to weary weeks of torture, to silence, and the grave.

Great in life, he was surpassingly great in death. For no cause, in the very frenzy of wantonness and wickedness, by the red hand of murder, he was thrust from the full tide of this world's interest, from its hopes, its aspirations, its victories, into the visible presence of death—and he did not quail. Not alone for the one short moment in which, stunned and dazed, he could give up life, hardly aware of its relinquishment, but through days of deadly languor, through weeks of agony, that was not less agony because silently borne, with clear sight and calm courage, he looked into his open grave. What blight and ruin met his anguished eyes, whose lips may tell!—What brilliant broken plans! what baffled, high ambitions! what sundering of strong, warm, manhood's friendships! what bitter rending of sweet household ties! Behind him a proud, expectant nation, a great host of sustaining friends, a

cherished and happy mother, wearing the full, rich honors of her early toil and tears; the wife of his youth, whose whole life lay in his; the little boys not yet emerged from childhood's day of frolic; the fair, young daughter; the sturdy sons just springing into closest companionship, claiming every day and every day rewarding a father's love and care; and in his heart the eager, rejoicing power to meet all demand. Before him desolation and great darkness! And his soul was not shaken. His countrymen were thrilled with instant, profound, and universal sympathy. Masterful in his mortal weakness, he became the center of a nation's love, enshrined in the prayers of a world. But all the love and all the sympathy could not share with him his suffering. He trod the winepress alone. With unfaltering front he faced death. With unfailing tenderness he took leave of life. Above the demoniac hiss of the assassin's bullet he heard the voice of God. With simple resignation he bowed to the divine decree.

As the end drew near, his early craving for the sea returned. The stately mansion of power had been to him the wearisome hospital of pain, and he begged to be taken from its prison walls, from its oppressive, stifling air, from its homelessness and its hopelessness. Gently, silently, the love of a great people bore the pale sufferer to the longed-for healing of the sea, to live or to die, as God should will, within sight of its heaving billows, within sound of its manifold voices, with wan, fevered face tenderly lifted to the cooling breeze, he looked out wistfully upon the ocean's changing wonders,—on its far sails, whitening in the morning light; on its restless waves, rolling shoreward to break and die beneath the noonday sun; on the red clouds of evening, arching low to the horizon; on the serene and shining pathway of the stars. Let us think that his dying eyes read a mystic meaning which only the rapt and parting soul may know. Let us believe that in the silence of the receding world he heard the great waves breaking on a farther shore, and felt already upon his wasted brow the breath of the eternal morning.



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